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Art. I. African Sketches. By Thomas Pringle. 12mo., pp. 528. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1834.

THE name of Thomas Pringle cannot be unknown to any of our readers; and wherever it is known, it will vouch for the modest and substantial worth of the volume to which it is prefixed. The title of this work does not specifically describe its contents; but it will be surmised by those who are acquainted with the Author's former productions, that these Sketches are South African. We are in want of a geographical term to describe the region of the Cape Colony and what has been barbarously denominated Caffraria; i. e. pagan-land. But, till a better is found, we must be content to use the term South Africa in the specific sense in which it is usually employed to denote the territory of the Cape Colony. These, then, are South African Sketches, historical and descriptive, in prose and in verse; sketches of scenery, natural history, aboriginal customs, colonial manners, emigrant adventures, and missionary establishments.

The first part of this volume, occupying 114 pages, consists of 'poems illustrative of South Africa.' Part II. is a narrative of the Author's residence in that country, comprising not merely a story of personal adventures, but the history of a settlement, from its foundation in the wilderness till, after struggling through various difficulties and discouragements, it has attained a considerable degree of prosperity. The narrative supplies also, incidentally, some instructive notices of the political history of the Colony, which is becoming every day more important in a national point of view. We need not say, then, that the volume is one of no ordinary interest: it deserves a place in every family library.

Before we proceed to give some further account of its contents, it will be proper to let the reader know why the narrative has been withheld for several years after the Author's return to

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Europe. His intention was, to publish it directly; and several of the poems, as well as a few of the prose sketches, have from time to time appeared in print*.

But, having become unexpectedly engaged in the prosecution of a great moral and political question, as secretary to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, he was led to postpone, though he never entirely abandoned, his purpose of relating what he had seen, felt, and suffered, during a residence of six years in South Africa. The grand and engrossing object to which, for the last seven years, his hand and heart have been, however feebly and unworthily, devoted, having at length, through the blessing of Divine Providence, been attained, the Author now offers this little volume as the first fruits of his relaxation. It will, he humbly trusts, be found in no respect incongruous with his recent labours, and, so far as it relates to the condition and improvement of the long-oppressed natives of Southern Africa, even strictly subsidiary to the same cause.

In fact, as regards the West India Colonies, the cause of humanity has triumphed, and the struggle of the philanthropist has been crowned with a success which requires only to be consummated by the labours of the Christian teacher. In South Africa, slavery has indeed been abolished, but much remains to be done in the equitable settlement of our relations with the native tribes, and in the total suppression of the atrocious commando system, which rivals the old slave-trade itself in turpitude; while a wide field opens before the philanthropist, in the condition of the interesting tribes that are inviting civilization, and among whom Christianity has already commenced her beneficent conquests.

In pursuance of a plan formed by the Home Government to colonize the Caffer frontier, in 1819, a free passage was offered to emigrants from this country, upon certain conditions. The most flattering picture was drawn of the natural attractions and resources of the country, in some clever articles put forth in the Admiralty Review; and contingent advantages of a tempting nature were held out to emigrants on their arrival. Five thousand British settlers, lured by these specious representations, entered into engagements to proceed thither †. Among these was a party of Scottish agriculturists, including the family of the Pringles, of whom our Author was, pro tempore, the head or leader. In emigrating to the Cape, he had in view, he tells us, two special objects.

^{*} See a review of the Author's "Ephemerides," (12mo, 1828,) in Eclectic Review, Vol. xxix., p. 343.

[†] The total number of persons who made application to the Colonial Department, with a view to emigrating to South Africa, is stated to have exceeded 80,000 souls.

One of these was to collect again into one social circle, and establish in rural independence, my father's family, which untoward circumstances had broken up and begun to scatter over the world. accomplish this, emigration to a new colony was indispensable. My father had been a Roxburghshire farmer of the most respectable class; and all his sons (five in number) had been bred to the same profession, except myself. The change of times, however, and the loss of capital, except myself. had completely overclouded their prospects in our native country; and, therefore, when the Government scheme of colonising the unoccupied territory at the Cape was promulgated, I called their attention to that colony, and offered to accompany them, should they determine to proceed thither as settlers. After maturely weighing the advantages of the Cape, as compared with other British colonies, they made their election, and empowered me to apply on their behalf to the Colonial Department. As it was required by the Government plan that every party should comprise at least ten adult males, one party, related to my wife, and two or three other respectable individuals, were associated with us. And thus our little band of twenty-four souls was made up; consisting of twelve men, (including three farm servants,) six women and six children.

'My personal views were different from those of my relatives. I had received a collegiate education; and had been employed for about a dozen years in the service of his Majesty's Commissioners on the Ancient Records of the Kingdom, in the office of my esteemed friend, Mr. Thomson, Deputy Clerk-Register of Scotland. I had also been recently engaged to a certain extent in literary concerns; having been one of the original projectors and editors of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, (then a liberal, though not a party journal,) and afterwards of Constable's Magazine. My connection with these journals, however, had rather been prejudicial than otherwise to my views in life, and had given me, moreover, a decided aversion to literature, (or, at least, to Periodical Literature,) as a profession. Under these circumstances, I determined to embark my own fortunes with those of my relatives, in the Government scheme of South-African colonisation. But as neither my pecuniary circumstances nor my previous habits rendered it advisable for me to locate myself as an agricultural settler, I trusted to obtain, through the recommendation of powerful friends, some moderate appointment, suitable to my qualifications, in the civil service of the colony, and probably in the newly settled district.

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'Having explained these views to my respected friend, Sir Walter Scott, in the autumn of 1819, that illustrious and benevolent man entered into them with his characteristic cordiality and promptitude. He immediately wrote to some of his ministerial friends in London, in behalf of myself and my party of emigrants, and obtained our ready admission among those selected by Government for the new settlement from the vast multitude of applicants. He also exerted himself with the utmost zeal to obtain an appointment for myself in the colony; and when I came up to London, in November, 1819, to make arrangements for our embarkation, he furnished me with strong letters of recommendation to persons of influence, whose intervention in my behalf he hoped to render effectual. These exertions procured me a

letter of recommendation from Mr. Goulburn, then Colonial Secretary, to the Governor of the colony, Lord Charles Somerset; with an assurance that his Excellency, to whose disposal all appointments, except a very few of the highest grade, were intrusted, would be prepared to give the most favourable attention to my wishes.' pp. 119—122.

The name of that virtuous scion of the House of Beaufort, had not then acquired the unenviable notoriety which has since converted the appellation of a Lord Charles into a generic term of well understood significance; and little did our Author anticipate that he was about to commit himself to an unequal contest with a governor in whose eyes the establishment of a press was a crime, and the very suspicion of a leaning to Whiggism sufficient cause for him to determine on the ruin of the unconscious offender. Had Mr. Pringle known the character of the man to whose arbitrary and venal sway the Colony was at this time unhappily consigned, he would never have set his foot on the shores of But it is well for South Africa, and upon the the Cape. whole for himself, that he was not in possession of the knowledge which would have deterred him from the adventure. circumstances which at first wore the character of misfortunes, have been overruled for much good. The victim of unmerited persecution has been nobly revenged. Lord Charles sent home to the Anti-Slavery Society an invaluable secretary, who has not deserted the cause of South Africa, but has advocated it more powerfully and successfully here, than he could have done as Government librarian, or as the Editor of a Cape journal. And now, who is the happier, who the greater man; Thomas Pringle or Lord Charles Somerset? The one, though far from wealthy, stands ennobled in the estimation of his countrymen: the other has fallen into popular contempt, and even Toryism is ashamed of its nursling and determined votary.

But we are forestalling the course of events. For two years, one Author was peacefully occupied with laying the foundations of the settlement in Glen Lynden. Before proceeding to their appointed location, the party, on the 6th of June, 1820, 'assisted 'at laying the foundation of the first house of a new town at Algoa Bay, designated by Sir Rufane Donkin, (the acting Go-vernor,) "Port Elizabeth," after the name of his deceased

' lady.'

'In the course of fourteen years, this place has grown up to be the second town in the colony, both for population and for commerce; and it is still rapidly increasing. Captain Moresby, of the navy, was the proprietor of the house then founded with much ceremony, and of which our party assisted to dig the foundation. The only other house then commenced, excepting some temporary offices and cabins, was one erecting by a Malay named Fortuin, now, I understand, one of the wealthiest and most respectable inhabitants of the place.' p. 139.

His very name seems to have been a good omen. - The location to which at length the party proceeded, was a valley watered by one of the smaller branches of the Great Fish River, formerly known under the name of Baboon's River, but which received from the settlers the name of the Lynden. The rugged glen which it waters, is about thirty miles in extent. The upper part had never been permanently settled, but had formerly been occupied as grazing ground by a few Dutch boors, who ranked among the most rude and lawless of the colony, and who had been dispossessed, and some of them executed for high treason, about five years be-The wild and savage scenery must have somewhat appalled the party who were about to make it their home, although it forms a pleasing picture in description.

'Leaving a subsidiary glen on our right,' says the Author, 'we proceeded up the River of Baboons. To this point the wagon track, wild and rugged as it was, might be considered comparatively safe and in good repair; but it now became difficult and dangerous to a degree far exceeding any thing we had yet encountered or formed a conception of; insomuch that we were literally obliged to hew out our path up the valley through jungles and gullies, and beds of torrents, and rocky acclivities, forming altogether a series of obstructions which it required the utmost exertions of the whole party, and of our ex-

perienced African allies, to overcome.

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'The scenery through which we passed was, in many places, of the most picturesque and singular description. Sometimes the valley widened out, leaving space along the river side for fertile meadows, or haughs, (as such spots are called in the south of Scotland,) prettily sprinkled over with mimosa-trees and evergreen shrubs, and clothed with luxuriant pasturage up to the bellies of our oxen. Frequently the mountains, again converging, left only a narrow defile, just broad enough for the stream to find a passage; while precipices of naked rock rose abruptly, like the walls of a rampart, to the height of many hundred feet, and in some places appeared absolutely to overhang the savage-looking pass or poort, through which we and our wagons struggled below; our only path being occasionally the rocky bed of the shallow river itself, encumbered with huge blocks of stone which had fallen from the cliffs, or worn smooth as a marble pavement by the sweep of the torrent floods. At this period, the River of Baboons was a mere rill, gurgling gently along its rugged course, or gathered here and there into natural tanks, called in the language of the country zeekoe-gats (hippopotamus pools); but the remains of water-wrack, heaved high on the cliffs, or hanging upon the tall willow-trees, which in many places fringed the banks, afforded striking proof that at certain seasons this diminutive rill becomes a mighty and resistless flood. The steep hills on either side often assumed very remarkable shapes-embattled, as it were, with natural ramparts of freestone or trap rock—and seemingly garrisoned with troops of the large baboons from which the river had received its former Dutch appellation. lower declivities were covered with good pasturage, and sprinkled over

with evergreens and acacias; while the cliffs that overhung the river had their wrinkled fronts embellished with various species of succulent plants and flowering aloes. In other spots, the freestone and basaltic rocks, partially worn away with the waste of years, had assumed shapes the most singular and grotesque; so that, with a little aid from fancy, one might imagine them the ruins of Hindoo or Egyptian temples, with their half-decayed obelisks, columns, and statues of monster deities.

'It were tedious to relate the difficulties, perils, and adventures, which we encountered in our toilsome march, of five days, up this African glen; to tell of our pioneering labours with the hatchet, the pick-axe, the crow-bar, and the sledge-hammer,—and the lashing of the poor oxen, to force them on (sometimes 20 or 30 in one team) through such a track as no English reader can form any adequate conception of. In the upper part of the valley, we were occupied two entire days in thus hewing our way through a rugged defile, now called Eildon-Cleugh, scarcely three miles in extent. At length, after extraordinary exertions and hair-breadth escapes—the breaking down of two wagons, and the partial damage of others—we got through the last poort of the glen, and found ourselves on the summit of an elevated ridge, commanding a view of the extremity of the valley. " And now, mynheer," said the Dutch-African field-cornet who commanded our escort, "daar leg uwe veld-there lies your country." Looking in the direction where he pointed, we beheld, extending to the northward, a beautiful vale, about six or seven miles in length, and varying from one to two in breadth. It appeared like a verdant basin, or cul de sac, surrounded on all sides by an amphitheatre of steep and sterile mountains, rising in the back-ground into sharp cuneiform ridges of very considerable elevation; their summits being at this season covered with snow, and estimated to be from 4000 to 5000 feet above the level of the sea. The lower declivities were sprinkled over, though somewhat scantily, with grass and bushes. But the bottom of the valley, through which the infant river meandered, presented a warm, pleasant, and secluded aspect; spreading itself into verdant meadows, sheltered and embellished, without being encumbered, with groves of mimosa-trees, among which we observed in the distance herds of wild animals-antelopes and quaggas—pasturing in undisturbed quietude.

"Sae that's the lot o' our inheritance, then?" quoth one of the party, a Scottish agriculturist. "Aweel, now that we've really got till't, I maun say the place looks no sae mickle amiss, and may suit our purpose no that ill, provided that haughs turn out to be gude deep land for the pleugh, and we can but contrive to find a decent road out o' this queer hieland glen into the lowlands—like ony other Christian

country."

'Descending into the middle of the valley, we unyoked the wagons, and pitched our tents in a grove of mimosa-trees on the margin of the river; and the next day, our armed escort with the train of shattered vehicles set out on their return homeward, leaving us in our wild domain to our own courage and resources.' pp. 150—152.

They reached their location on the 29th of June, 1820, exactly

six months from the day on which they had embarked at Leith. The next day but one was Sunday; and the Author's description of the first Sabbath spent by this respectable band of Scottish emigrants in the wilderness, is extremely touching.

' Feeling deeply the importance of maintaining the suitable observance of this day of sacred rest, it was unanimously resolved that we should strictly abstain from all secular employment not sanctioned by absolute necessity, and at the same time commence such a system of religious services as might be with propriety maintained in the absence of a clergyman or minister. The whole party were accordingly assembled after breakfast, under a venerable acacia-tree, on the margin of the little stream which murmured around our camp. The river appeared shaded here and there by the graceful willow of Babylon,. which grows abundantly along the banks of many of the African streams, and which, with the other peculiar features of the scenery, vividly reminded us of the pathetic lament of the Hebrew exiles:-"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof."

'It was, indeed, an affecting sight, to look round on our little band of Scottish emigrants, thus congregated for the first time to worship God in the wild glen allotted for their future home and the heritage of their offspring. There sat old ----, with his silvery locks, the patriarch of the party, with his Bible on his knee,-a picture of the high-principled, grave Scottish husbandman; his respectable family seated round him. There was the widow ----, with her meek, kind, and quiet look-(the look of one who had seen better days, but who in adversity had found pious resignation), with her three stalwart sons, and her young maiden daughter placed beside her on the grass. There, too, were others, delicate females-one of them very nearly related to myself-of whom I need not more particularly speak. There was -, the younger brother of a Scottish laird, rich in blood, but poor in fortune, who, with an estimable pride, had preferred a farm in South Africa, to dependence on aristocratic connexions at home. Looking round on these collected groupes, on this day of solemn assemblage, such reflections as the following irresistibly crowded on my mind: "Have I led forth from their native homes, to this remote corner of the globe, all these my friends and relatives for good or for evil?-to perish miserably in the wilderness, or to become the honoured founders of a prosperous settlement, destined to extend the benefits of civilisation, and the blessed light of the Gospel through this dark nook of benighted Africa? The issue of our enterprise is known only to Him who ordereth all things well: 'Man proposes, but God disposes.' But though the result of our scheme is in the womb of futurity, and although it seems probable that greater perils and privations await us than we had once calculated upon, there yet appears no reason to repent of the course we have taken, or to augur unfavourably of the ultimate issue. Thus far Providence has prospered and protected us. We left not our native land from wanton restlessness or mere love of change, or without very sufficient and reasonable motives. Let us,

therefore, go on calmly and courageously, duly invoking the blessing of God on all our proceedings; and thus, be the result what it may, we shall feel ourselves in the path of active duty." With these and similar reflections we encouraged ourselves, and proceeded to the religious

services of the day.

'Having selected one of the hymns of our national church, all united in singing it to one of the old pathetic melodies with which it is usually conjoined in the sabbath worship of our native land. The day was bright and still, and the voice of psalms rose with a sweet and touching solemnity among those wild mountains, where the praise of the true God had never, in all human probability, been sung before. The words of the hymn (composed by Logan) were appropriate to our situation, and affected some of our congregation very sensibly:—

"O God of Bethel! by whose hand thy people still are fed; Who through this weary pilgrimage hast all our fathers led: Through each perplexing path of life our wandering footsteps guide; Give us each day our daily bread, and raiment fit provide: O! spread thy covering wings around, till all our wanderings cease, And at our Father's loved abode our souls arrive in peace."

'We then read some of the most suitable portions of the English Liturgy, which we considered preferable to any extempore service that could be substituted on this occasion; and concluded with an excellent discourse from a volume of sermons presented to me on parting by a revered relative, the Rev. Dr. Pringle of Perth. We had a similar service in the afternoon; and agreed to maintain in this manner the public worship of God in our infant settlement, until it should please Him, in his good providence, to privilege it with the ecclesiastical dispensation of religious ordinances.

'While we were singing our last psalm in the afternoon, an antelope (oribi), which appeared to have wandered down the valley without observing us, stood for a little while on the opposite side of the rivulet, gazing at us in innocent amazement, as if yet unacquainted with man, the great destroyer. On this day of peace, it was, of course, permitted

to depart unmolested.

'On this and other occasions, the scenery and productions of the country reminded us in the most forcible manner of the imagery of the Hebrew Scriptures. The parched and thorny desert—the rugged and stony mountains—the dry beds of torrents—"the green pastures by the quiet waters"—"the lions' dens"—"the mountains of leopards"—"the roes and the young harts (antelopes) that feed among the lilies"—"the coney of the rocks"—"the ostrich of the wilderness"—"the shadow of a great rock in a weary land"; these, and a thousand other objects, with the striking and appropriate descriptions which accompany them, recurred to us continually with a sense of their beauty and aptitude which we had never fully felt before." pp. 155—57.

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A series of brief notes transcribed from the Author's MS. journal, comprising the 'short and simple annals' of the infant colony for several months, will enable his readers to form a tolerably distinct and correct idea of 'life in the wilds;' of which

the description given by Miss Martineau in her first Tale, will be found closely to correspond to the actual history. The first business was the construction of huts and household furniture; next, the purchase of live stock, the cultivation of garden ground, and the clearing of land for tillage. Our Author's chef d'œuvre was the construction of a parish oven, scooped out of a huge anthill under an old mimosa, and plastered and paved within: it served all the hamlet to bake all their household bread in for a couple of years. To his other occupations, he was obliged occasionally to add that of doctor, by help of a small medicine chest and the lancet, which he had learned to use on the passage. In a similar limited and provisional capacity, continues Mr. Pringle, I ventured to assume the office of religious instructor to the poor ignorant natives placed under my temporary direction.

' Having, with the aid of a grammar and dictionary, made myself, since our arrival at Algoa Bay, so far acquainted with the Dutch language, (now universally spoken by the colonial Hottentots,) that I could converse in it on familiar topics, and read the scriptures with tolerable fluency; I added, for the benefit of our Hottentot guard, a Sunday service in Dutch to our usual one in English. This service was of a very simple character; being confined to the reading and exposition of plain passages of Scripture, and of a short sermon or tract; some devotional portions of the liturgy used by the Dutch Reformed Church; and the singing of one or two hymns. Limited as were our ministrations in this way, they had a very pleasing effect. They were attended to with an earnestness which it was not less affecting than gratifying to witness. To two or three Hottentots (mulattoes) who could read a little, I presented Dutch New Testaments, which were received with the most lively feeling of thankfulness; and which they were afterwards observed to be often reading, or spelling out, to their comrades. Several of them frequently came, at other leisure times, voluntarily to solicit further instruction; and one poor fellow, to whom my wife had given a New Testament, several months, afterwards sent her, from his master's place, a hundred miles distant, the present of a milch-goat with twin kids, as a testimony of his gratitude.

'I thus found myself all at once, and not a little to my own surprise, performing the novel and somewhat incongruous functions of a sort of civil and military officer, of a medical practitioner, religious instructor, engineer, architect, gardener, plasterer, cabinet-maker, and, I might add, tinker. In short, I was driven to do the best I could in the peculiar position in which circumstances had placed me; and when (as was frequently the case) my own knowledge and the experience of others failed me, I was obliged to trust to "mother-wit."

About this period, we were somewhat teased by Sunday visits from our Dutch-African neighbours of the lower part of the Glen-Lynden valley and the Tarka. Solicitous to keep upon friendly terms with these people, I always made it a point to receive them courteously, and usually asked them to dine with me. But finding that they made a practice of visiting us on Sundays, either to gratify idle curiosity or

with a view to commercial dealings, I fell upon a scheme which effectually relieved us from this annoyance. I took care to acquaint them that it was contrary to our principles to transact secular business on the Sunday; and when any of them came, I offered them a seat among my Hottentot audience, and invited them to read aloud the Sunday Service. Few of them, I found, could read even the New Testament without much stammering and spelling; and they considered it, moreover, a shocking degradation to sit down amidst a groupe of Hottentots. We were therefore speedily relieved altogether from their Sunday visitations. In other respects, we found them generally, however uncultivated, by no means disagreeable neighbours. They were exceedingly shrewd at bargain-making, it is true, and too sharp sometimes even for cautious Scotchmen; but they were also generally civil and good natured; and, according to the custom of the country, extremely hospitable. On the whole, their demeanour towards us, whom they might be supposed naturally to regard with exceeding jealousy, if not dislike, was far more friendly and obliging than could, under all the circumstances, have been readily anticipated.'

pp. 168-170.

Variations of weather, a visit from neighbouring boors, or from the wild animals, a packet from the coast, containing despatches from the Colonial Secretary, or letters and newspapers from Scotland,—were the most remarkable occurrences during the first months of the settlement, with the grievous exception of the destruction of the ripening corn by a mildew. For several successive years, the wheat crops of the settlers were almost totally destroyed by blight, which was a great discouragement; but, as the Government, in consequence of this calamity, continued to supply them with rations of flour for six months beyond the time originally stipulated, the party did not in the first instance suffer from it any material privation. The year 1821 opened, however, rather gloomily at Glen Lynden.

In the first place, the whole of our wheat crops were destroyed by the rust or mildew. Then a severe drought, which had commenced in December, lasted more than three months; so that the pastures were parched up; the river ceased to flow, except near its sources; the irrigation of our gardens and orchards was interrupted, and many of the young trees and other plants destroyed. About the same time we received information that the party of 500 Highlanders, who were expected out to occupy the country between us and the new Caffer frontier, had, in consequence of some untoward circumstances, entirely abandoned their intention of emigrating to the Cape; and, to crown our disappointments, the melancholy intelligence soon afterwards reached us, that the other Scottish party, which sailed from the Clyde on the 13th of October, 1820, had perished miserably near the equator, by their vessel (the Abeona transport) being destroyed by fire. Out of 140 of these unfortunate emigrants, only sixteen souls escaped; who, being picked up in their boats by a vessel homeward bound, had returned to Scotland. These concurrent disasters, crowding upon us

all at once, greatly disheartened most of our party; and I was urged by some of them to apply to the Government to remove us to Albany, since, owing to the failure of the other Scottish parties, we would otherwise be left quite isolated among the rude Dutch-African Boors, on this remote and exposed part of the frontier. I prevailed upon all the families, however, to give the place a longer trial; and the discontinuance of the drought in the end of March, together with the arrival of a corporal and five men of the Cape Corps (Hottentot soldiers), whom, at my request, the acting governor had kindly sent for the protection of our settlement, in lieu of the district Hottentots, contributed not a little to the restoration of confidence and satisfaction.'

pp. 200, 201.

In June, Mr. Pringle met the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, (Lord Charles being absent from the Colony,) who was making a circuit through the eastern province, and found him disposed to remedy to the utmost of his power the disadvantages under which the settlers laboured in consequence of these disappointments. He kindly offered to remove the party, if they desired it, to Albany, or any other situation; but, as they had now made up their minds to remain at Glen-Lynden, Mr. P. obtained, in lieu of this, an enlargement of their location to 20,000 acres. This was more than they could immediately occupy or adequately stock, but not more than, in that part of the country, was absolutely requisite for the complete establishment of eight or ten substantial farmers. Their situation at the close of the year is thus described.

'The rations of flour, &c. were discontinued at the close of 1821; but as our wheat crops had succeeded pretty well this season, and we had now got a competent share of live stock on our farms, we ran no risk of wanting at least the necessaries of life. We killed our own beef and mutton; we had milk, butter, and cheese; we reared abundance of poultry; we cultivated with success potatoes, pumpkins, melons, with almost all the ordinary esculent vegetables, and some not known in Europe. We learned from our Dutch-African neighbours to make our own soap and candles; and to manufacture from the skins of our sheep and goats, tanned with mimosa bark, excellent leather for jackets and trousers—and which supplied a sort of clothing well adapted for a country full of thorny trees and jungles. All that we had occasion to purchase, therefore, were a few luxuries-such as tea, coffee, sugar, wine, spices, &c. We usually got a sufficient quantity at a time, from Cape Town, or Algoa Bay, to last us a considerable period; but once or twice, our old stock being exhausted before the new arrived, we found ourselves entirely destitute of the most important of these articles—tea and sugar, of which neither Cradock nor Somerset then afforded a regular supply.

'We were once subjected to a more serious privation. In the summer of 1821-22, we were again visited by a severe drought, which endured so long that at length our little river ceased to flow; and,

although we had enough of water in permanent pools and fountains for ourselves and our cattle to drink, we could not get our wheat ground into flour, in consequence of all the mills on the river being stopped for want of water, and were soon left without bread. As all our neighbours were nearly in the same situation, we could neither borrow nor purchase. Our Dutch-African neighbours and our Hottentot servants took the matter very quietly. They could live very well on mutton and boiled corn, they said, for a month or two, till rain fell. Indeed, many of them in the arid back country live entirely on animal food and milk, without either bread or vegetables. But it was different with us: we felt the want of bread as a grievous privation. For a week or two we made a shift to grind a daily supply with our coffee mill; but this at length also failed. The iron handle was repeatedly broken; and though I had enough of smith's or tinker's craft to repair it twice, the third fracture was beyond my skill; and we were then reduced to grind, or rather to bruise, our corn, by crushing a few grains at a time with a round stone upon a flat one. By this tedious process we procured a small cake or two daily; and with this we were forced to content ourselves, until we could obtain a supply of flour from Somerset. This was a real privation: but, after all, I must not forbear to add, that these same cakes, baked of coarse meal ground between two stones, and occasionally of my own grinding, made the sweetest bread, I think, I ever tasted.' pp. 242, 3.

At the close of the second year, in July, 1822, the state of the little settlement was, on the whole, prosperous.

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'The first difficulties had been surmounted; the severest privations were past. A crop, though a somewhat scanty one, of wheat and barley, had been reaped. The gardens were well stocked with vegetables. The flocks and herds were considerable in number, and gradually increasing. The necessaries of life were secured; comforts and conveniences were slowly accumulating. The several families had all obtained Hottentot servants; and, being now familiarised to the country and its various inhabitants, had begun to feel quite at home on

their respective farms.

Among other improvements, the frightful road down the glen had been so far repaired and ameliorated, that wagons could now travel on it, if not with ease, at least without imminent danger. This had been accomplished by the vigorous voluntary labours of the party, assisted by our Mulatto tenants, for two months; the Colonial Government having, at my request, relieved for one year our coloured allies from all other public services, in consideration of their aid in this enterprise. It may be worth while to mention that, in accomplishing this arduous work, we overcame one of the chief difficulties—the removal of the enormous blocks of stone which frequently obstructed the only practicable line of road—not by the aid of blowing-irons, but by the joint application of fire and water. This process, which we learnt from the Hottentots, consisted simply in kindling a large fire of wood upon and around the mass of rock we wished to get rid of, and, when it was well heated, to sweep off the fire, and dash suddenly upon it several buckets-

full of cold water, -which, by causing an instantaneous change of temperature in the mass, generally split it, if it lay in an isolated

position, into a number of manageable fragments.

Our guard of six Hottentot soldiers was withdrawn by the Colonial Government in January; but, as we were now well strengthened by our Mulatto tenantry, we could dispense with military support. Hitherto we had neither suffered actual damage, nor been disturbed by any serious alarm, from our wild neighbours to the eastward, although several of the Boors on the Tarka and Great Fish River had been recently subjected to their depredations. Our only intercourse with the Caffer tribes had consisted in one or two amicable visits which a few of them, chiefly females, had paid us, in search of employment, and whom, in obedience to the colonial regulations at that time, we had sent back to their own country under an escort.

'In July, 1822, my eldest brother arrived with his family and some other relatives from Scotland; and, having placed in his possession the farm of Eildon, which I had occupied for the last nine months, I prepared myself to proceed to Cape Town, in order to occupy a situation

to which I had been appointed by the Colonial Government.

'I have mentioned in the commencement of this narrative the nature of my aims and expectations in emigrating to the Cape. One of my chief objects, the establishment of my father's family in rural independence, had been fully accomplished. Towards the rest of the party, also, I had now fulfilled the duties which I undertook when I became their leader and representative. All that I could do to promote their prosperity had been done, so far at least as depended upon my residence on the location. A longer residence there could do little to benefit my own family. Land, without adequate capital to occupy it, was scarcely of any value; and my pecuniary means were too slender either to purchase sufficient stock or procure effective labour. I had, therefore, from the commencement of our enterprise, regarded farming, under my peculiar circumstances, as a resource only to be resorted to in the event of my failing to obtain some suitable employment under Government.

'The situation to which I had been appointed was that of librarian of the Government Library at Cape Town; an excellent institution, established principally by the exertions of Colonel Bird, the Secretary to Government. This charge had been offered me by the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, some time after his return to the colony in the close of 1821, in consequence of the interest exerted in my behalf in Downing-street, by Sir Walter Scott, Sir John Macpherson, and other influential friends. As regards emolument, indeed, the appointment was but an humble one; the salary being only 1000 rix dollars-or about £75 sterling. But the duties were not very onerous, and were peculiarly adapted to my tastes and habits. I was not unaware of the inadequacy of the income for the support of a family in so expensive a place as Cape Town; but I was encouraged to hope that, by means of the press, I might be enabled to realise a competent income for my family, and at the same time to benefit my fellow-colonists by the diffusion of useful information.' pp. 289-292.

We have passed over the accounts given of various excursions through the adjacent country, and a very delightful chapter devoted to anecdotes of African wild sports, and descriptions of the wild animals. For these we refer our readers to the volume itself. On the 25th of September, the Author reached Cape Town, where, with a short interval, he remained till February 1825. This was by far the busiest and most eventful portion of the six years which he spent in South Africa. The narrative, however, is compressed into a single chapter,—a melancholy, but instructive one. The system of tyranny and terror to which our Author became a victim, has happily been abolished; but that

such things were, ought not to be forgotten.

Ruined in circumstances and in prospects, but sound in conscience and character, Mr. Pringle had no alternative but to return to Glen Lynden, where he had the satisfaction of finding his relatives in tolerably prosperous circumstances,—much more so than the Albany settlers whom he visited on his route. In spite of occasional ravages from rust and locusts, they had saved abundance of wheat for their own consumption, and had some to spare for the market. Their flocks and herds had continued to thrive and increase. Some of the settlers were now lodged in comfortable dwellings. The Author's brother had erected a commodious farm cottage of stone and brick, with a chimney in the chief apartment; the first chimney that yet had been built in the subdistrict; and his own bee-hive cabin, which he had himself constructed, he found transformed into a kitchen! The remaining chapters of the narrative are principally occupied with interesting details relating to the native tribes of Bushmen, Caffers, and Hottentots,—the commando system,—the border conflicts,—the emancipating ordinance of 1828,—the progress of Christian missions in South Africa,—and the changes gradually effected in the colonial administration and policy. On these topics, a mass of valuable information is brought before the reader; and the Author's suggestions with regard to the future system of policy relating to the native tribes, which humanity and the interests of the colony alike recommend, will, we hope, obtain the attention they deserve, as coming from one so competent, from practical knowledge, to form a correct opinion.

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^{&#}x27;Restore to such of the frontier chiefs as have equitable claims upon it, all that is not irretrievably alienated of the Neutral or Ceded Territory. They will gratefully receive it on our own terms. Give it back to them, to be held of the Colonial Government, and settled on a plan somewhat analogous to that of the Kat River; reserving, however, to the chiefs certain rights of seigniory over the respective domains allotted to their clans, such as would enable them to maintain their hereditary rank and influence, without having the power of oppressing their vassals. This would tend to preserve the native aristo-

cracy of the country and the existing relations of society, and would greatly promote order and good government. These Colonial Chiefs might be appointed field-commandants over their respective clans; and the whole of the settlements, including the Kat River, might be placed under a magistrate carefully selected for that office, and who ought to be a person friendly to the native race, and well acquainted with their character, habits, and usages. These Caffer settlers, after a probationary period, might be entrusted with fire-arms, in the same manner as the Hottentots of the Kat River, and all the male adults might be embodied as a militia for the defence of the frontier. Place confidence in these people, and they will be loyal to the colony, as the Hottentots have been loyal. Missionaries should be liberally encouraged to settle among them, and schools founded and endowed in every village. Lastly, the colonial laws should be extended to a certain fixed and well-defined boundary—say the Keisi and Chumi rivers, and thence

the summit of the mountain ridge to the Winterberg.

With respect to the tribes and clans beyond the colonial boundary, let a system of just and honourable dealing, upon terms of fair reciprocity, be established and strictly adhered to. Let a general Convention of all the chiefs west of the Kei river be solemnly assembled; and let an equitable plan for the restoration of stolen cattle, for the redress of mutual grievances, and for the regulation of commerce, be proposed for their adoption. Such a Convention might perhaps be advantageously held at stated periods; and, without in any degree interfering with the hereditary precedence recognised among them as due to the respective Chiefs, it might form a sort of legislative and judicial council for maintaining peace and good order among the independent Caffer Tribes. Let one or more English residents be stationed in Cafferland, and let a Caffer envoy represent his nation in the Colony. Let a just and simple code of international law be drawn up and translated into the Amakosa language; and get the chiefs to affix their signatures to it, and to concur in giving to it prompt and firm execution. Insist on strict and speedy justice being executed on all convicted offenders; but cease to punish the innocent for the guilty. Let the Caffers see clearly that we are resolved henceforth neither to do nor to endure wrong; and I will venture to predict that we shall have all, except a few habitual rogues on both sides of the boundary, zealously devoted to the support of an equitable frontier system.

Nay more, however Utopian such 'visions' may appear to some people, I will venture to predict, that if some such system (I speak of the principle, not of the details—which may perhaps require to be greatly altered from this rude outline) shall be now adopted, and judiciously and perseveringly carried into operation, we shall at no remote period see the tribes beyond the frontier earnestly soliciting to be received under the protection of the colony, or to be embraced within its limits and jurisdiction. At this moment, the Gunuquebi clan are anxious for such an incorporation. Their three chiefs, the sons of old Kongo, have already embraced Christianity, and proclaimed the due observance of the Christian Sabbath throughout their territory. Enno, Botma, and above all Makomo, are earnestly disposed to follow the same example, and to found missionary institutions and schools in the

midst of their people. The Native Tribes, in short, are ready to throw themselves into our arms. Let us open our arms cordially to embrace them as men and as brothers. Let us enter upon a new and nobler career of conquest. Let us subdue savage Africa by Justice, by Kindness, by the talisman of Christian Truth. Let us thus go forth, in the name and under the blessing of God, gradually to extend the moral influence, and, if it be thought desirable, the territorial boundary also of our Colony, until it shall become an Empire—embracing Southern Africa from the Keisi and the Gareep to Mozambique and Cape Negro—and to which, peradventure, in after days, even the equator shall prove no ultimate limit.' pp. 473—480.

These important suggestions are shewn to be in accordance with the opinions of all intelligent writers upon the subject; and the Commissioners of Inquiry, in their Reports, strongly recommend that civil agents should be stationed among the native tribes, with a view to preserve the tranquillity of the frontier. Notwithstanding which, it is, says Mr. Pringle, 'a remarkable fact, and not very easy to be accounted for, that, up to the present hour, the judicious and beneficent recommendations of his 'Majesty's Commissioners in regard to the native tribes appear to have been, in almost every essential point, totally neglected; 'and a natural query recurs, How can the Home Government

excuse itself for permitting such criminal neglect?'

Circumstances at length occurred, which decided the Author on returning to this country. On arriving once more at Cape Town, he had some very satisfactory interviews with the Commissioners of Inquiry, and with General Bourke, who had happily succeeded to Lord Charles Somerset in the government of the Colony. On the 16th of April, 1826, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 7th of July; having lost about a thousand pounds at the Cape, for which he has never obtained from Government a shilling of indemnity, although his loss was entirely attributable to the criminal misconduct of the ex-governor. The narrative concludes, however, in a very different tone from that of either complaint or depression.

'A few words in conclusion about our settlement of Glen-Lynden. Under the blessing of Providence, its prosperity has been steadily progressive. The friends whom I left there, though they have not escaped some occasional trials and disappointments, such as all men are exposed to in this uncertain world, have yet enjoyed a goodly share of "health, competence, and peace." As regards the first of these blessings, one fact may suffice. Out of twenty-three souls who accompanied me to Glen-Lynden fourteen years ago, there had not, up to the 24th of January last, occurred (so far as I know) a single death—except one, namely, that of Mr. Peter Rennie, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a gun, in 1825. My father, at the patriarchal age of eighty years, enjoys the mild sunset of life in the midst of his

children and grandchildren; the latter, of whom there is a large and rapidly increasing number, having been, with a few exceptions, all born in South Africa. The party have more than doubled their original numbers, by births alone, during the last twelve years. Several additional families of relatives, and of old acquaintance, have also lately

joined them.

Without having any pretensions to wealth, and with very little money among them, the Glen-Lynden settlers (with some few exceptions) may be said to be in a thriving, and on the whole in a very enviable condition. They are no longer molested by either predatory Bushmen or Caffers; they have abundance of all that life requires for competence and for comfort; and they have few causes of anxiety about the future. Some of them, who have now acquired considerable flocks of merino sheep, have even a fair prospect of attaining by degrees to moderate wealth. They have excellent means of education for their children; they have a well-selected subscription library of about four hundred volumes; and what is still more important, they have the public ordinances of religion duly and purely maintained among them: they have now a parish minister (the Rev. Alexander Welsh, a clergyman of the Scottish Church) established in the valley of Glen-Lynden, with a decent stipend from the Government, augmented by their own voluntary contributions.

'On the whole, I have great cause to bless God, both as regards the prosperity of my father's house, and in many respects also as regards my own career in life, (whatever may be my future worldly fortunes,) that His good Providence directed our emigrant course fourteen years

ago to the wilds of Southern Africa.' pp. 497, 498.

It would be unjust to close this article without giving a specimen of the verse, although the Author's poetical talents, the graceful ornament of his more solid qualities of mind and character, are already known and appreciated.

To Robert Pringle, Glen-Lynden, South Africa.

My father! I to thee inscribe this page;
And send it freighted, like a courier-dove,
With many a prayer of reverential love,
To greet thee in thy distant hermitage.
If such slight themes may for an hour engage
Thy thoughts, intent on better things above,
This Tale of Trials Past perchance may prove
A recreation to thine honoured age.
Sprung from a stalwart line of Scottish sires,
Be thou the patriarch, on Afric's strand,
Of a young race, who with their fathers' fires
Shall warm the heart of their adopted land;
Who, firm yet gentle, generous, sincere,
Shall fear their God, and know no other fear.'

Art. II. A Connection of Sacred and Profane History, from the Death of Joshua to the Decline of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. (Intended to complete the Works of Shuckford and Prideaux.) By the Rev. Michael Russell, LL.D. Episcopal Minister, Leith. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. pp. 544 each. London.

HESE volumes ought, some years ago, to have received from us the notice to which the interest of the subject and their intrinsic value alike entitle them, although they form only a portion of a still unfinished work. To the two volumes already published, two others are to be added*. The part of the Author's undertaking now laid before the public, comprehends the times of the Judges, and terminates with the commencement of the regal government in the days of Samuel. The first volume is enriched with an Introduction and a Preliminary Dissertation. In the former, Dr. Russell, after supplying a concise sketch of the labours of his predecessors in the same department of literature, has developed the leading features of his chronological system, and given some further information designed to prepare the reader for perusing the work itself. The latter, occupying no fewer than 120 pages, is a very able Essay on the chronology of the long period that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the Chris-According to the Author's elaborate computation, our Saviour's advent occurred A.M. 5441; and we consequently are now living in the year of the world 7275. Those of our readers who have examined, even cursorily, the subject on which Dr. Russell has written, will not be surprised by the conclusions at which he arrives; but all who have trusted to the record of the patriarchal generations, as given in the authorized version of the Scriptures, or to the dates printed in the margin of the larger copies, will doubtless be startled by the announcement of the hypothesis, that more than seven thousand years of the world's existence have rolled by. Having explained his system of dates, and very ably supported it, the Author divides the remaining part of these volumes into two books. The first 'contains a connection of sacred and profane history, from the death of Joshua ' to the commencement of the regal government among the The second is 'on the ancient history of the 'Hebrews.' ' oriental nations, as connected with that of the Hebrew people, 'in the times of the Judges; viz. from the year 1543 before the 'birth of Christ, to 1099 before the same era.' Book I. is subdivided into three chapters: on the civil and political condition of the ancient Hebrews; -on their religious belief and practices; -and on the general history of the Hebrews, from the death of Joshua to the reign of Saul. The second book is divided into

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^{*} We understand that Vol. III. is preparing for the press.

five chapters: the first treats of the ancient history of the Babylonians and Assyrians, as connected with that of the Hebrews between 1543 and 1099 B.C.; the second contains an outline of such parts of the ancient history of the Hebrews, as may appear to have been affected by the power or character of the neighbouring nations; the third is on the Iranian or ancient Persian monarchy; the fourth, on the origin of the more remarkable states and kingdoms of ancient Greece; and the fifth, on the Argonautic expedition, the capture of Troy, and the return of the Heraclidæ. The third and fourth volumes, we are informed in the preface, will contain, together with a view of the civil and religious history of the Hebrews, an outline of the chronology, literature, and policy

of the Egyptians, the Chinese, and the Hindus.

In discussing the various subjects treated of in the part of his work already before the public, the Author has entered much into detail; he has brought together a great mass of erudition, and, in the arrangement and moulding of his materials, has discovered no ordinary ability. The work is written in a very excellent style, and must, we think, eventually secure a high degree of reputation. A few exceptions, however, must be made against the Author's theological sentiments. We were sorry to find Dr. Russell attributing the views given in the Jewish Scriptures of Satan, or the evil principle, to the dogmas which the descendants of Abraham learned in the regions of their captivity. We cannot but think that, in his allusions to this subject, both in the preface and in the second chapter of the first book, the Author has taken a very dangerous and altogether untenable position; and we cannot but express the hope that this blemish will be hereafter removed from a work not more creditable to the deep research, than, in general, to the accurate judgement of the writer.

Having given this brief account of Dr. Russell's volumes, we propose to devote the remainder of the present article to an inquiry into the dates of the earlier parts of the Old Testament; availing ourselves without reserve of the very valuable materials supplied by the preliminary dissertation above referred to. In pursuing this inquiry, we cannot forget that it is one of universal interest, and we shall therefore aim at being understood by all. If, in attempting this, some things are introduced, which, to some of the readers of our Journal may seem quite superfluous, we can

only plead in excuse, that we write for the many.

The periods of history to which the ensuing discussion is chiefly directed, will be first stated, together with the varying authorities between which we have to decide: those periods will then be separately reviewed, and such reasoning be advanced with respect to them, as we hope may prove satisfactory: finally, we shall attempt to support the calculations to which the preference is given,

by tracing to its origin, the abbreviated system of computation

which we reject.

I. The dates of the antediluvian records are found, upon examination, to present some very curious and suspicious results. The history of the ages immediately subsequent to the Deluge, is crowded with chronological difficulties. The narrative contained in the book of Judges, though its different parts are consistent with each other, cannot by any violence be reconciled with the dates appended to many of our Bibles. Sceptics, it is well known, found one pretext for rejecting the volume of truth, upon its chronological inconsistencies; and no reader of the Word of God can have attempted to wind his way through the labyrinth of past ages by the help of Usher's dates, (those which bring us down to the birth of Christ in A.M. 4004,) without finding himself bewildered and led astray by his guide. How difficult soever it may be to construct a better system, all who have made the effort to search the Scriptures by the aid of the one now in general use, will acknowledge their inability to reconcile its different parts. either with each other, or with the dates of uninspired ancient records. It were surely the part of wisdom, either to leave the pages of Holy Writ quite unincumbered with chronological notices, or to supersede those at present in use, by others having at least some claim to accuracy and consistency.

The computations of learned men, as to the age of the world, vary greatly. The popular belief extends it to about 5,800 years. The hypothesis which would lengthen this date by fourteen centuries, seems, however, not unlikely to supplant the one which now obtains general, and for the most part unsuspected credence. The main reason of this wide difference, many of our readers are aware, will be found in the discrepancy between the Hebrew Scriptures and the Greek version. 'About 170 years before the 'Christian era', says Dr. Campbell, 'a complete version of the 'scriptures of the Old Testament was made into Greek, -a lan-'guage which was then, and continued for many ages afterwards, 'in far more general use than any other. This is what is called 'the Septuagint, or version of the Seventy, (probably because 'approved by the Sanhedrim,) which was begun (as has been 'said) by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, for the use of the Alexandrian library.' This version of the Old Testament was much used in the synagogues in the time of Our The chronology of Josephus agrees with it; as also does the chronological system received by the Christian Church during the first six or seven hundred years of its existence. difference between the received text and the Septuagint, occurs

^{*} Campbell, Dissertation I. Part I. § 3.

in the narrative of events prior to the birth of Abraham, and is as follows:

	Yrs.	Yrs.	
From the Creation to the Deluge, according to the Hebrew text, elapsed. According to the Septuagint	0000		
From the Deluge to the birth of Abra- tham, according to the Hebrew	292	780	

Total 1386

During the administration of the Judges, the chronology of the Hebrew and that of the Septuagint agree. The dates often affixed to our English Bibles, follow, through the two former periods, the Hebrew: through the latter, where the Hebrew and the Greek coincide, they differ widely from both; and are adjusted to an abbreviated scheme of computation, invented by the Masoretic Jews.

II. The chronology of the book of Genesis is contained in the genealogical tables; and these are not computed, according to our method, by the distance of events from some one epoch. We are not told, for instance, in what year of the world Enoch lived, or was translated to heaven; but we arrive at the fact by adding together the previous generations; i. e., by adding the time that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the birth of Seth, Adam's eldest son, or the son through whom the succession is traced, to the years that transpired between the nativity of Seth and of Enos, and by pursuing the same mode of calculation down to the event, the date of which we wish to ascertain. In our Bibles, the time between the creation of Adam and the birth of Seth, is said to have been 130 years; between Seth and Enos, 105, &c. From the Creation to the Flood, therefore, will be, 130 + 105 + 90 + 70 + 65 + 162 + 65 + 187 + 182 + 600 = 1656.This accords with the Hebrew. The Septuagint agrees with it in the length of the lives of these antediluvians, but, in all the instances, excepting three, adds a hundred years to the time that elapsed between the births of the father and the son; and subtracts the same term of years from the number transpiring between the birth of the son and the death of the father. Thus, the Hebrew, and our Bibles following it, read: "And Adam lived 130 years, and begat Seth, and all the days of Adam afterward were 800 years, and all the days that Adam lived were 930 years." The Septuagint reads, "And Adam lived 230 years, and begat Seth, and all the days of Adam afterward were 700 years." The whole lives of these ancients are, by the version of the Seventy, neither shortened nor lengthened; but their generations, upon which alone depends the chronology

of the world before the Flood, are, with these exceptions, lengthened by a century added to each. Consequently, the period already computed, will, according to the Septuagint, stand thus: 230 + 205 + 190 + 175 + 165 + 162 + 165 + 187 + 188 + 600 = 2262.

We find, then, one chronological system measuring the existence of the antediluvian world by sixteen centuries and a half; another, exceeding that calculation by not less than 600 years. Now it is granted that, other things being equal, the Scriptures in the original language would be of greater authority than any version, how carefully soever executed. It is granted also, that, in a narrative so concise as that of the times before the Flood, and in the absence of all contemporary documents, there are no means of proving incontestably the inaccuracy of the genealogical tables of the Hebrew MSS. Still, as the contrariety is very great, it may fairly be expected, that, whichever system of dates is erroneous, and whether it be so through accident or through design, it will exhibit some internal marks of inaccuracy; though, from the brevity of the record, and the want of other chronological works with which to compare it, the evident discrepancies will be necessarily few.

The careful reader of the fifth chapter of Genesis will observe the very different ages at which the antediluvians are said to have become fathers: Seth at 105, Canaan at 70, Mahalaleel and Enoch at 65, Jared at 162, Methuselah at 187, and Lamech at 188. It is difficult to conceive why, in times when no Malthusian doctrines could interfere to retard the increase of the human family, such great diversity should exist. It will be seen by a glance at the figures we have given, that the same generations, as recorded in the Septuagint, fluctuate to a much less extent; and, in fact, approach about as near to uniformity, as the

As the generations of Adam's immediate descendants do not well comport with each other, so neither do they with the analogy of universal nature. Throughout the works of God there is observable, amidst the greatest variety, the nicest adjustment of parts,—a proportion the utility and beauty of which we can scarcely overlook. Nature produces giants and dwarfs, but not

history of subsequent times would lead us to expect *.

scarcely overlook. Nature produces giants and dwarfs, but not monsters; the horse with a construction in every respect fitted for speed, and the elephant with its ponderous body and huge

^{*} Should any one be inclined to make a deduction from this argument, on the supposition that, at least in some of these instances, daughters would be the first-born of their parents, we must in fairness claim to have an equivalent addition made to the subsequent reasoning, drawn from the very early age, as compared with their whole lives, at which these ancients reached manhood.

legs to support it. But we never meet with the slender structure of the one in grotesque and useless combination with the bulk of the other. A similar wisdom and beauty of arrangement force themselves upon our notice, in the slower or more speedy progress of the various forms of life towards maturity and dissolution. The oak does not spring up like the mushroom, nor fade and die like the flower of the field. Slowness of growth and longevity are uniformly combined, as are rapidity of growth and rapid We should be not less confounded by the lion which in a few days should reach the full size, and attain the full strength of its species, than by the junction of the legs of an elephant with the body of a war-horse. But, according to the Hebrew genealogy of Noah's ancestors, this proportion is utterly violated, -this law of the creation is reversed; Mahalaleel and Enoch becoming parents at an earlier age than Nahor, Terah, and Abraham.

Where man reaches the age of threescore years and ten, and no artificial circumstances disturb the rate of increase, the time from the birth of the father to that of the child, may bear to the whole life of the father, the proportion of 1 to 3 and a fraction. But take the cases of Seth, Enos, Cainan, and Mahalaleel, (it is obvious that Enoch must be omitted, and in the instances of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, the Septuagint does not differ from our Bibles,) and the proportion will be as 1 to 11. lives together amount to 3622 years, which number, divided by 330, the total of 105+90+70+65, gives 11 very nearly. The chronology of the Septuagint gives 5 nearly. The argument, of itself, it is confessed, is not conclusive, but we cannot think it futile; and, if we mistake not, it is supported by Scripture. The son and grandson of Abraham lived when the term of human existence reached about twice its present limits. Isaac, when his father's servant went to the house of Laban, was 40 years old, and died at the age of 180. Jacob was 147 years old when he died, and at least 40 (Gen. xxvi. 34.) when he fled from his brother Esau. These dates, by the rule already explained, will give, the one $3\frac{1}{2}$, the other $4\frac{1}{2}$, or, taken together, 4; and as both these patriarchs lived to an old age, their generations certainly favour the chronology of the Septuagint. It will be seen that we have not pushed this part of the reasoning to the extent to which it might be carried. It is fair to acknowledge, that 40 appears to have been, in the time of the immediate posterity of Abraham, about the age of virility; but, as a matter of fact, the son of Isaac was not born till the heir of the promises had reached his 60th year; and Jacob was unquestionably more than 40, (it is commonly supposed more than 80,) when he left his father's house, to sojourn in Padan-Aram. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of his prophecies, is generally understood to

foretel the happiness of the millennial days. Amongst other advantages to be possessed by mankind, when the new heavens and the new earth appear, the duration of human life is represented as greatly extended. But the extension is not to be effected simply by the lengthening out of the years of man. The different stages of his life are to be protracted; so that, whilst the days of the righteous are as the days of a tree, their childhood is to equal or exceed the threescore years and ten now allotted to

man. "The child shall die a hundred years old."

The preceding paragraph may be allowed to afford some proof, that human existence lost not its symmetry, when its limits were greatly curtailed. The change was merely the reduction of the full-sized portrait to the miniature,—all the parts being still retained in all their proportions. This conclusion admits of some further confirmation. It is obvious to every one, that those creatures which, being long-lived, arrive late at puberty, are afterwards slow in their increase *. This law of nature seems to have been in operation in the earliest times. Adam was created in a state of manhood. Cain was probably born soon after his father's expulsion from Paradise; but it was not till our common parent had lived 130 years, that God gave him "another seed instead of Abel." Noah's third son, it would appear, was born when his father had reached the age of 500 years †. (Gen v. 32.) This

^{*} Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, towards the close of the last century, must, in his calculations, have entirely overlooked this law of human, and indeed of animal existence. He advances, and attempts to support, the extravagant hypothesis, that in about 340 years after the deluge, and about the time of the death of Peleg, there were or might have been in the world upwards of three thousand millions of married men; or, as he himself expresses it, '3,333,333,330 males furnished with wives.' 'When this number is doubled, so as to include the women, we shall have 6,666,666,660 persons, all in the state of matrimony; to which, if we add the very low estimate of two children to a family, the population of the world, in the latter years of Noah, would exceed the magnificent amount of thirteen thousand millions.' (vol. ii. p. 18.) As we have mentioned this strange vagary, it may be right to give the reader some idea of the grossness of the error into which even a bishop could fall. Allowing that to the thirty-two grandsons of Noah (Gen. x.), as many grand-daughters are to be added, and that the cousins all intermarried in forty years after the Deluge; admitting the same rate of increase in succeeding years, and that a new generation was born in forty years, instead of 140, which is nearer the true term; making moreover no deduction for the ravages of death; eight millions, instead of 13000 millions, will be the estimated number of the human race about the middle of the third century after the Flood. And even this computation is immensely beyond the truth. t Shem was ninety-eight years old at the time of the Deluge. That

very gradual enlargement of the human family, according to the analogy of all nature, corroborates the conclusion at which we have previously arrived; that the Antediluvians reached maturity at a period late in proportion to the length of their lives; and not, as the Hebrew text would lead us to suppose, when they had

passed but the eleventh part of their days.

A stronger argument against the dates of the antediluvian world, as they stand in our Bibles, than any yet adduced, is now to be brought forward. It is drawn from the genealogical tables of the subsequent era; the era reaching from the Flood to the birth of Abraham. The conciseness of the history of the times before the Deluge, renders it impossible to prove the accuracy of the chronology by numerous coincidences, or its incorrectness by numerous discrepancies; but when the narrative enters more into detail, it may be assumed as certain, that any disarrangement of the dates will render it very difficult to adjust to them the multiplied events, the progress of which they are designed to mark. The chronology of the ages from Noah downwards to the Father of the Faithful, as given in the xith chapter of Genesis, together with the history contained in the fourteen following chapters, is a case in point. That history ranges over a space, according to the Hebrew and our bibles, of 292 years only; according to the Septuagint, of more than 1000 years. It may be shewn almost to demonstration, that, in this instance, the authority of the Septuagint is to be preferred, and that of the Hebrew MSS. rejected; and if, there being in two cases glaring discrepancies, (amounting in the one to six, and in the other to nearly eight centuries,) the correctness of the Greek is proved in the latter, there arises a strong presumption in favour of its correctness in the former. we must receive the Septuagintal calculations from Noah to Abraham, it is only very clear evidence of inaccuracy that will justify us in preferring any other guide from Adam to Noah.

In examining the chronology of the Bible, from the Flood to the birth of the son of Terah, it will be but fair to the reader, to subject it to that test by which we have tried the genealogy of the earliest ages. The dates of the xith chapter of Genesis, as given in the Septuagint, differ in so many particulars from those of the Hebrew, that it may be right to present them at length. Each name will be followed by two numbers; the first denoting the years between the nativity of the father and of the son; the second, the whole life of the father. Shem, 100; 600. Ar-

he was younger than Japheth, we learn from Genesis x. 21; and Genesis v. 32, vii. 6, and xi. 10, collated, shew that he was also younger than Ham. Yet there is no reason for doubting that all were childless when they entered the ark.

phaxad, 135; 535. * Cainan, 130; 460. Salah, 130; 460. Eber, 134; 404. Peleg, 130; 339. Reu, 132; 339. Serug, 130; 330. Nahor, 179; 304. Terah, 70; 205. We shall not encumber the page with the corresponding dates, as they stand in our version of the Scriptures; but, leaving the reader, if he choose, to examine them for himself, give him the results; requesting him to bear in mind, that as the individuals whose genealogies we are now commenting upon, were not all remarkable for longevity, but varied in their ages, (according to the Hebrew, from 600 to 205, and according to the Greek, from 600 to 275,) the proportion in this case will be somewhat different from that already found. The sum of the generations last quoted is 1270. The sum of the lives of Shem and his descendants, down to Terah, 3976; which, divided by 1270, give 3 and a fraction of trifling value. The same generations, according to the Hebrew, amount to 390, and the same lives to 2,999. The division gives eight nearly. Or, leaving out the first and last names, in the dates of which both authorities are agreed, we obtain the numbers 3 and 9: that is to say, the proportion between the years transpiring from the birth of the father to that of the son, and the whole number of years which the father lived, is, in the Greek, as 1 to 3; in the Hebrew, as 1 to 8 or 9. These results prove, that if, as we have laboured to shew, the different stages of human life originally bore a proportion to each other, even approaching that which they now bear, the genealogy of the Seventy is correct.

The subsequent chapters of the history, considered in connexion with the chronology of the xith chapter, will be found to lead to some conclusions for which perhaps many of our readers are not prepared. According to these dates, Noah outlived Nahor, and even Terah, and was contemporary with Abraham for more

than half a century.

'We read of Nimrod, who appears to have been the youngest son of Cush, setting up a kingdom at Babylon, and establishing a tyrannical government in the extensive countries which are watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, while his father, grandfather, and great grandfather were still alive, and in the full vigour of their age and strength.' Vol. I. p. 101.

^{*} This name is not found in the Hebrew. Dr. R. has followed the Seventy, and retained it. 'Without entering into the minuter points of the controversy which has been maintained on this head, I shall rest satisfied with shewing, that, as the name of this son of Arphaxad is found in the Septuagint, and in the gospel according to St. Luke, so must his generation have also been inserted in the history of Demetrius, in that of Eupolemus, and in the Antiquities of Josephus as they originally proceeded from his hand.' Vol. I. p. 158.

Of Peleg it is said: "In his days was the earth divided." This language would naturally lead us to suppose that his forefathers were removed from the world, before this division occurred; but, according to the chronology, they were still living and in the midst of their days. When Abraham left his own country, and went into Canaan; when, driven by famine, he went down into Egypt; when returning he was separated from Lot; when, by fighting with the kings, he rescued his brother; when the fate of his descendants was foretold to him; when Ishmael was born, and afterwards, the Patriarch at the age of ninetynine entered into covenant with God, by the rite of circumcision; -whilst all these circumstances, which are related in six chapters, were transpiring, -Eber, Salah, Arphaxad, and Shem, the son whom Noah blessed, were still on the earth, and yet not the slightest allusion is made to either! The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the history of Lot and his daughters and wife, are recorded with much particularity. Abimelech, king of Gerar, finds a conspicuous place in the narration. The birth of Isaac and the flight of Hagar, the great triumph of the Patriarch's faith, the death of Sarah, are detailed; and, with considerable minuteness, the purchase of a burying-place. A long chapter is devoted to the journey and mission of Abraham's servant. And yet, in all the history stretching through twelve chapters, and embracing numerous names and incidents, (many of the latter minute,) no place at all is found for the slightest reference to that remarkable individual who outlived all these events, and was born before the Flood! "Abraham was gathered to his people," but left the son of Noah alive on the earth. He "died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years," and yet 'departed thirty-five years before Shem, who was born nine 'generations before him, and nearly a hundred years before the 'Deluge.' The xxvth chapter relates the generations of Ishmael, and the nativity of Jacob and Esau; and the following chapter, Isaac's sojourning in Gerar, closing with the marriage of Esau; but there is not the most distant allusion to them. The end of the xxvith chapter would, according to the chronology, be the place for the record of his death; but no hint is given of that The history marks the decease of Terah, and Sarah, and Abraham, and afterwards of Rachel, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph; but Shem, the first post-diluvian progenitor of the Messiah, the relic of past ages, the last link connecting the world that was with that which now is, -the extraordinary man who, according to the Hebrew dates, was contemporary for fifty years with Jacob, and for 100 years with Methuselah, (and Methuselah, according to the same chronological system, was contemporary for two hundred years with Adam himself,)—this extraordinary man dies unnoticed!

These difficulties arise altogether from the abbreviated chronology of the modern Hebrew text. According to the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Josephus, all these patriarchs, down to the fifth and sixth generations from Noah, were dead long before the time of Abraham; and they had finished their days, too, after the ordinary course of nature; the fathers going before the sons, and not, as we find in the Masorite scheme of genealogy, surviving ten or twelve generations of their descendants.' Vol. I. p. 100.

According to the mode of computation we have endeavoured to defend, the birth of Abraham occurred A. M. 3334. The next epoch chosen by Dr. Russell, reaches to the exodus of the Is-This will not detain us long: it includes 505 years. Between the giving of the promise to Abraham and the giving of the law, there elapsed, according to Paul (Gal. iii. 17), 430 years. To these add 75 for Abraham's age when the promise was given (Gen. xii. 3 and 4), and the number assigned above is completed. The correctness of this calculation may also be shewn as follows. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5); Jacob was born when Isaac had reached the age of 60 (Gen. xxv. 26), and went down into Egypt at the age of 130 (Gen. xlvii. 9). These numbers together amount to 290; leaving 215 years for the time of the sojourning of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt. Now the father of Amram went down with Jacob into Egypt, and the son of Amram led out the Israelites from the house of bondage (Gen. xlvi. 11; Exod. vi. 18 and 20). But one whole generation, therefore, passed away in the land of captivity. "The years of the life of Amram were an hundred and thirty and seven years;" leaving 78 years as the time spent by the Israelites in Egypt before the birth, and after the death, of Amram. 100+60+130+137+78=505. This result clashes entirely with Exod. xii. 40. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years." There is no possibility of reconciling this verse, either with the narrative of the Old Testament, or with the quotation we have made from the Epistle to the Galatians. The reason of this contrariety we shall hereafter inquire into.

The patience of the reader will be taxed with the particulars of only one other era of the Old Testament chronology. It is that extending from the exodus of the Israelites to the foundation of Solomon's temple, and including, according to the history and the assertion of Paul (Acts xiii. 18, &c.), about 592 years; but, according to the marginal dates, 479 years only. The difference occurs in the reckoning of the times of the Judges. We read (Judges iii. 8), that "the children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years",—that "the Lord raised up a deliverer, Othniel", and that "the land had rest 40 years." Usher computes but 40 years for the time of both servitude and repose,

thus plainly omitting eight years. Again, "the children of Israel served the king of Moab 18 years",—"the Lord raised them up a deliverer", "and the land had rest fourscore years." The Archbishop, following the Jews, (quite consistent in an archiepiscopal divine,) reckons but 80 for the 98; and, curtailing in the same manner the dates of the book throughout, shortens its chronology by 100 years.

'The sacred chronology of Usher, in fact, follows closely, in this division of ancient history, the scheme adopted by the Masoretic Jews; who, as Dr. Hales remarks, have by a curious invention included the first four servitudes in the years of the Judges who put an end to them; contrary to the express declarations of Scripture, which represent the administrations of the Judges, not as synchronizing with the servitudes, but as succeeding them. The Rabbies were indeed forced to allow the fifth servitude to have been distinct from the administration of Jephtha, because it was too long to be included in that administration; but they deducted a year from the Scripture account of the servitude, making it, instead of eighteen, only seventeen years; and they curtailed another year from Ibzan's government, making it only six, instead of seven years. They sank entirely the sixth servitude under the Philistines, of forty years, because it was too long to be contained in Samson's administration; and, to crown all, they reduced Saul's reign of forty years to two years only.' Vol. I. p. 141.

This extract, together with the foregoing observations, will sufficiently explain the *mode* of curtailment in the chronology of this part of the Scriptures. Two tables, extracted from the work before us, will shew at a glance the *particulars* and *amount* of that curtailment. The first exhibits the calculations of our Author; the second, the dates adopted by Usher, whose Latin we translate.

		yrs. m.
· Fre	om the Exode to death of Moses	40
	Joshua and Elders	25
	Anarchy	2
I.	Servitude under Chushan Rishathaim	8
	Othniel	40
II.	Servitude under the Moabites	18
	Ehud and Shamgar	80
III.	Servitude under the Canaanites	20
	Deborah and Barak	
IV.	Servitude under Midianites	
	Gideon	
	Abimelech, 3; Tola, 22; Jair, 22	
V.	Servitude under Ammonites	
	Jephthah, 6; Ibzan, 7	
	Elon, 10; Abdon, 8	
VI.	Servitude under Philistines; Samson last 20 years	-

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VII.	Eli was judge 40 years, but 20 of them with Samson Servitude or Anarchy	yrs. m. 20° 20° 7 52 43
(Vo	d. I. p. 147.)	591 7
	[EXTRACTED FROM USHER'S CHRONOLOGIA SACRA.]	
I.	From the Exodus to the passing of the Jordan	40
11.	To the rest given by Joshua	6 4
III.	Othniel	40
IV.	Ehud	80
V.	Deborah and Barak	40
VI.	Gideon	40
VII.	To the commencement of the reign of Abimelech, son of Gideon	9 2
VIII.	Abimelech, Tola, and Jair	48
IX.	Jephthah	6
X.	Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon	25
XI.	Eli and Sampson	40
XII.	Samuel	21
XIII.	King Saul	40
XIV.	From the death of Saul to the laying the foundation of	
	Solomon's Temple	43
		478 6

Some ingenious arguments in favour of the longer computation are, in the work before us, drawn from the writings of Josephus, and of Clemens of Alexandria. We must not extract, and know not how to abridge them. The Author sums up the whole in these words.

'The consistency of the facts, and the harmony of the numbers, as I have given them, concur in bestowing an air of truth upon the hypothesis with which they are connected; whereas, according to Usher, Petavius, Capellus, and most other chronologers, who omit the seventh servitude, and the twelve years of Samuel's judicature prior to the

^{* &#}x27;The Hebrew text, Josephus, the Vulgate Latin, the Chaldee paraphrase, the Syriac and Arabic versions, assign to Eli forty years; but most of the Greek copies give only twenty years, as do also the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, Sulpicius Severus, and Procopius of Gaza, have followed the authority of the Greek. It is most probable, as I have stated in the table, that of the forty years given to Eli, he spent twenty in the days of the Philistines, while Samson waged a predatory war with that people; and the other twenty after the death of this Hebrew champion. Chron. Antiq. Vol. I. p. 140.'

5441

nomination of Saul, the prophet became a judge at thirteen; was an old grey-headed man, and had sons fit to assist him in his office, before he was twenty-three; and finally, died at an advanced age about the time he completed his fiftieth year.' Vol. I. p. 153.

The sacred chronology of subsequent times is attended by little difficulty. From the foundation to the destruction of the temple are reckoned 430, and from the destruction of the temple to the Christian era, 586 years.

'The birth of Christ, according to the system of chronology which I have adopted, took place in the year of the world 5441. The particulars are as follows:

	yrs.
From the Creation to the Deluge	2256
Deluge to the Birth of Abraham	1072
——— Birth of Abraham to his removal into Canaan	75 430
that event to the exode of the Israelites	430
Exode to the Foundation of the Temple	592
— Foundation to the Destruction of the Temple	430
Destruction of the Temple to the Birth of Christ	586
	-

(Vol. I. p. 158.)

The reasoning of the preceding pages, it will be seen, is founded, almost exclusively, on data supplied by the Bible itself. There are other sources of evidence from which we might draw largely. The works of Demetrius, Eupolemus, and Josephus confirm the chronology of the Seventy. The first of these writers lived somewhat more than two centuries before the Christian era. Our Author cites from a fragment of his writings, preserved by Eusebius, the following statement. 'From Adam to the migration of Jacob's family into Egypt, there elapsed a period of '3624 years; and from the Flood to the same migration, the number of years was 1360.' These dates agree with the Greek The reader, if he We need not give particulars. choose, can refer to the foregoing pages. About fifty years after Demetrius, another history of the Jewish kings was written by Eupolemus, from which the following quotation, as preserved by Clement of Alexandria, is given :- 'All the years that can be col-'lected from Adam even until the fifth of Demetrius, the monarch of Syria, and the twelfth of Ptolemy who reigned in Egypt, 'are 5149.' 'Now the fifth year of Demetrius, and the twelfth 'of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus,' Dr. R. remarks, 'may be taken as 'the 295th before the common era of our Redemption; the sum 'of which numbers amounts to 5444, from Adam to Christ.' (Vol. I. p. 65.) Josephus bears testimony in general terms to the accuracy of these two authors, and his chronology agrees with theirs. He compiled his Antiquities from the Hebrew Scriptures, and yet, his chronological numbers coincide with those of the Septuagint. This great historian of the Jews twice informs us, that their sacred books contain a history of 5000 years, ending with the canon of Scripture in the reign of Artaxerxes.

'Now if, to 5000, or rather 5017 years, we add the 464 which, according to Ptolemy, intervened between the time of this Persian sovereign and the era of Redemption, we shall have, as the period from Adam to Christ, 5481 years; being only 40 years more than the computations of Demetrius and Eupolemus,—an apparent discrepancy which I shall hereafter fully explain and remove.' Vol. I. p. 69.

To these early authorities there is to be added the unquestioned fact, that the abbreviated system of dates now adopted in our Bibles was unknown during the first age of the Church, and was not received for several ages afterwards. So far from shortening the period from the Creation to the coming of Christ to about 4000 years, the first Christians, yielding probably to the belief that the sabbath of the world was at hand, extended that period to nearly 6000 years; and it was not till circumstances had shewn the fallacy of their expectations of the Millennium, that they more carefully examined the grounds of their hope.

'It has been established by a very patient and learned research into Christian antiquity, on the part of the authors to whom I have referred, that, prior to the close of the second century, there is no writer to be found who did not inherit the opinions which prevailed in the times of the Apostles and of their immediate disciples, relative to the interval which had elapsed between Adam and Christ. In the following century, indeed, we begin to perceive symptoms of change in the leading systems of chronology, and an attempt to accommodate the authority of tradition to the actual state of things. The expected Millennium seemed to be delayed; and it, therefore, became necessary to examine more attentively into the language of Scripture, and to calculate with greater precision the several epochs which are recorded in the inspired annals of the Jewish Church. Julius Africanus, accordingly, who wrote about the year 221 of our era, is the first who reduced the period stated above to 5500 years, -a conclusion which appears to have been readily received by nearly all the learned Christians of his day, particularly in the provinces of Greece and Asia Vol. I. p. 115.

Lactantius, the tutor of the son of Constantine, assuming that the renovation of all things would take place at latest, A.M. 6000, predicted, that from the time when he wrote, (A.D. 320,) two centuries was the limit of the world's existence; plainly supposing the year 5500 to be the era of Redemption. The records of a synod held at Constantinople in the year 691,—the 'principle' of computation in use among the Greeks, Copts, Abyssinians, 'Armenians, Ethiopians, and Georgians, even at the present day,'—the calculation of Eusebius, not exactly agreeing with the

Greek, but entirely clashing with the Hebrew,—are, with other authorities, triumphantly appealed to by Dr. Russell as proving, that the chronology of the Scriptures, as we now have it in the version of the Seventy, was, with some slight variations, universally received during the first six centuries.

' It was not, indeed, till the eighth century, that the notions of the Masorite Jews found any acceptance in the Christian Church. the year 720, the Venerable Bede produced his works, De Temporum Ratione, &c., in which he assigned, at considerable length, the reasons upon which he had decided, in preferring the Hebrew verity to the translation of the Seventy. But the innovations of the monk of Durham were ill received by his contemporaries. He was denounced as a heretic, because he had taken upon him to assert, in opposition to all the fathers of the church, that the Redeemer of our race was not born in the sixth millennium of the world. The darkness of the succeeding ages prevents us from pursuing the progress of this opinion among the churchmen of the West. * * * Upon the revival of learning, the discussion was renewed with that vigour and freedom which characterized the second birth of intellect and taste; and soon called into the field of controversy the powerful talents of Scaliger, Petavius, Vossius, Pezron, and Usher.'-Vol. I. pp. 120, 121.

We had wished, but have found it impracticable, to compress into a narrow compass, the main particulars of the connexion which Dr. Russell traces, between the dates already given and the chronology of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks. Suffice it to say, that the various collateral topics discussed in the second volume, render it a treasury of information, while the conclusions at which the Author arrives, serve to countenance and confirm the system of chronology he has adopted.

III. To those of our readers not conversant with the lore of antiquity, an inquiry must have suggested itself respecting the origin of the remarkable variations which have been pointed out, between the dates of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Those variations cannot be thought to have existed when the translation of the Seventy was made. That the Jews should have permitted such a departure from the text of their sacred books, in a version of which they made constant use, is quite incredible. The care and jealousy with which they watched over the writings containing at once their political code and their religious creed, the value they put upon the Septuagint, and the absence of all conceivable motive to falsification when it was first produced, combine to assure us, that the discrepancy in the two authorities between which we have to decide, is not of equally ancient date with the Septuagint itself. The amount of difference, and the manner in which the genealogies are shortened or lengthened, lead to the suspicion of design; and forbid us to resolve the difference into the mistakes of transcribers. It is painful to accuse any of our fellow-creatures of having wilfully taken from, or added to, the oracles of God, and exposed themselves to the curse connected with such presumptuous impiety; but most painful to advance an accusation so serious against the descendants of Abraham, the chosen depositaries of divine truth, and the channel through which it was to flow to all nations. Such, however, is the grievous charge involved in the explanation given, (and, as far as we know, it is the only probable explanation,) of the diversity between our two chronological authorities. of the Jews to the name of Christ, it is notorious, was a " perfect hatred," and sufficiently strong to lead them to any extent of wickedness, through which the pretensions of Christianity could be invalidated. A race which filled up the measure of their iniquities by crucifying the Son of God, and the obduracy and guilt of which are attested by the degradation and misery of seventeen hundred years, can scarcely complain of calumny, if, in addition to their other crimes, they be charged with a wilful corruption of the pages of inspiration. The inducements to such corruption lay in the opinion, widely prevalent, if not universally entertained, that the Messiah was to appear in the sixth millenary age of the world; and that when that age had transpired, the end of all things would come. The correctness of this opinion being assumed, the Jews, as the last period of time approached its termination, would be increasingly perplexed by the incongruity between their circumstances and their creed; whilst the Christians would be furnished with evidence, to which the lapse of every day added strength, that the Messiah had indeed appeared. To us, the reasoning, pro and con, founded upon these data, may seem undeserving of the importance we suppose to have been attached to it; but the most abundant proof is not wanting, that about the commencement of the present era, and for some centuries downwards, the notions we have explained held a very prominent place in the belief and the hopes of both the descendants of Abraham and the disciples of Christ *. The Rabbies, it is conjectured, exasperated by the difficulty in which the common expectations of Jews and Christians involved them, secretly disarranged the genealogies of their forefathers; and thus put back many degrees the time-piece which had measured the ages of the

^{*} The bloody cruelty of Herod shews, that, in the apprehension of that ferocious governor, the expectation of a deliverer about to appear, was generally entertained and fondly cherished amongst the Jews. A very useful collection of concurrent testimonies may be found in Sheppard's "Divine Origin of Christianity," Vol. I. p. 165, and onwards. We need not quote from the New Testament to prove that the belief prevailed amongst Christians, of the proximity of the day of the Lord. In the works of Clement and Barnabas, we find several unquestionable

world. Let it be granted that Augustus Cæsar reigned in the 4000th year from the Creation, and the "traditions of the elders" might yet be saved, and a most popular and troublesome argumentum ad hominem be deprived of all its cogency.

But whilst the rejection of Christ by the Jews 'rendered ne-'cessary an extensive change in their dates and calculations,' it was only under very peculiar circumstances that such a change could be effected. If the MSS, were very numerous and widely spread, or in general use, the undertaking would be perfectly hopeless. It was not till the venerable originals were almost superseded by the Septuagint, and the few that remained were almost exclusively in the hands of the learned, that the presumed alteration could be attempted with the least chance of success. That such an opportunity of violating the trust reposed in them did occur to the Jews, is by no means improbable. The copies of the Scriptures, when perhaps two or three months' hard labour were required to produce one, would be comparatively rare. Amidst the destruction of Jerusalem, and the devastation that accompanied it, when he who was on the house-top, was warned not to tarry to "take any thing out of his house," and he who was in the field, not to "return to take his clothes," the sacred books of the Hebrews would unquestionably share in the general wreck. The version of the Seventy would seem to have been much used in the Synagogues even of Palestine, in the time of our Lord; and when the inhabitants of Judea and the neighbouring regions, who escaped the famine, and the pestilence, and the sword which devoured the land, were driven into all parts of the earth, they would, we may conclude, at once conform to the usages of the Grecians (Ελληνισται) previously residing at the various places of their dispersion. This diminution of the numbers of the Hebrew MSS., and almost total disuse of those that remained, would facilitate any efforts made by the Rabbies to disturb the chronology of their ancient records; and the facility would be yet further increased, by the substitution of the Chaldaic letters for the Samaritan, about the time when the corruption of dates is thought to have occurred; i. e. about 130 years after Christ.

'On such an occasion, there would be little difficulty in effecting whatever innovations the sanhedrim of Tiberias might deem expedi-

proofs of the early existence of this belief. 'The same notion may be traced in the works of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian. It was maintained by several other of the distinguished writers who adorned those early ages of our faith; and especially by Hesychius, Timotheus, Theophilus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Ambrose.'—Vol. I. p. 113.

ent; and this the more easily, because the old language of Scripture had already become obsolete among the great body of the people in Judea, whom habit or necessity had long reconciled to the use of Greek, or of the mixed Syriac, the vernacular tongue of Palestine.' Vol. I. p. 122.

In bringing against the Jews the accusation of having intentionally falsified their holy writings, the moderns are not advancing a novel charge. The stigma, whether deservedly or not, has for ages rested upon the children of the Patriarchs. The early Christians hesitated not boldly to attribute to them a violation of the Scriptures relating to Christ.

'A learned Author, the celebrated Abulfuragius, asserts, that the Jews, believing it to have been foretold in the law and the prophets, that Christ was to be sent in the last times, in order to produce a reason or apology for rejecting him, altered the chronology of the world.' . . . 'Augustine, in like manner, relates, that the Jews were suspected of having corrupted their copies of the ancient Scriptures, and particularly of having altered the generations and lives of the antediluvian patriarchs; and this they did, he says, out of dislike to the Christians, and in order to weaken the authority of the Septuagint.' Vol. I. pp. 79, 80.

At the commencement of the second century, 'a new transla-'tion of the Old Testament into Greek was brought forward 'under the auspices of their leading rabbies, the object of which 'was, to bring into discredit the venerable work of the Seventy.' The liberties which Aquila, the translator, an immoral apostate, used with the original, were soon perceived and exposed.

'Two years after the publication of Aquila's version, there appeared a work entitled Seder Olam Rabba, or, The Great Chronicle of the World; which presented to the Jews the first-fruits of those labours which the enemies of Christianity had bestowed upon the Hebrew writings. This curtailed system of chronology was put forth under the name of Rabbi Josi, and favoured by the countenance and recommendation of the notorious Akiba.'...' Its publication may with certainty be regarded as marking the epoch at which the Jews adopted their abbreviated scheme of ancient chronology.' Vol. I. p. 83.

With such evidence of the guilt of the Jews we may connect the marks of design, and of design hostile to Christianity, which it requires little penetration to detect in the corruptions of the Hebrew dates. The careful reader would observe, that while the whole genealogical list contained in the xith chapter of Genesis was brought into our calculation, a selection was made from that contained in the vth chapter, and a selection, giving a result more favourable to the hypothesis we have laboured to support, than could be obtained from the average of all the generations mentioned by the historian. Those of the remainder, those of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, coincide with the Septuagint. The last two present a strange difference from those which precede The son of Enoch was born when Enoch was 90 years of age; of Cainan when his father was 70; of Mahalaleel when the father was 65; but between the birth of father and son, in the case of Methusaleh, 187 years transpired; and in the instance of Lamech, 182. Why, it may be asked, if the rabbies have tampered with the chronology, did they leave these glaring discrepancies? Because to have displaced a century in these instances, as in the others, would have sent down both Methuselah and Lamech into the new world; a contradiction to the narrative not to be ventured upon. The translation of Enoch to heaven rendered it quite safe to effect the alteration in his genealogy; and accordingly, 65 is the term of the generation, instead of 165, as in the Greek. Jared's chronology presents an exception. The 100 years are not taken away as they might have been, still leaving more than 200 between his death and the Flood. Was this a stroke of policy? The Jewish rabbies were subtle as well as ma-They would doubtless attempt to conceal the fraud they had practised; and certainly we cannot conceive of their having by any other means so much increased the difficulty of detection, with so little addition to the time they were anxious to shorten, as by allowing the generation of Jared to remain in its true form. If it were left so from a wish to disguise the imposition they were practising, the scheme was worthy of the craftiness of its

This management, however, if such it were, has not been universally adhered to:

'The Babylonian Jews shorten the period from the Creation to the Deluge a century more than their brethren in the West; placing the Flood in the year of the world 1556, instead of 1656; and this difference was obviously occasioned by the subtraction of 100 years from the generation of Jared, which were added, of course, to the remainder of his life.' 'The Samaritan Pentateuch, in respect to the period now under consideration, is even more corrupt than the Hebrew text, whether of Babylon or of Tiberias. According to this authority, the interval from Adam to the general Deluge is reduced to 1307 years, being 349 less than the Jewish computation, and 949 less than the tables of Josephus, founded upon the original records of the ancient Scriptures. The process of abbreviation seems to have been conducted as follows: a century was taken away in the first instance from the generations of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech: after which, for what reason is not apparent, 29 years were deducted from the last of these patriarchs before he became the father of Noah, and 20 from Methuselah, before he became the parent of Lamech. But the authors of this scheme soon perceived, that, to secure consistency, they must carry their innovations to a greater extent than they had at first contemplated. They found it necessary, not only to abstain, in the three instances just mentioned, from adding the century which they took from the generation to the residue of life, but even to deduct another century from the total amount of these patriarchs' years, that they might not encumber their calculations by an inconvenient longevity. Accordingly, the Samaritan chronologists restrict the life of Jared to 847 years instead of 962, that of Methuselah to 720 instead of 969, and that of Lamech to 653 instead of 777. The result proves satisfactorily the object of these gross corruptions: the three ancients whose names have just been stated, are all made to die in the same year, and that too the very year of the Flood!' Vol. I. pp. 89—91.

We extract from the fifty-second page of the same volume, a Table, shewing at one view the particulars of the variation between the ancient authorities referred to above.

	Lived before Birth of eldest Son.				After the Birth of eldest Son.				Total length of Life.			
	Heb.	Sam.	Sep.	Jos.	Heb.	Sam.	Sep.	Jos.	Heb.	Sam.	Sep.	Jos.
Adam	130	130	230	230	800	800	700	700	930	930	930	930
Seth	105	105	205	205	807	807	707	707	912	912	912	912
Enos	90	90	190	190	815	815	715	715	905	905	905	905
Cainan	70	70	170	170	840	840	740	740	910	910	910	910
Mahalaleel	65	65	165	165	830	830	730	730	895	895	895	895
Jared	162	62	162	162	800	785	800	800	962	847	962	962
Enoch	65	65	165	165	300	300	200	200	365	365	365	365
Methuselah	187	67	187	187	782	653	782	782	969	720	969	969
Lamech	182	53	188	182	595	600	595	595	777	653	753	777
Noah at the Flood.	600	600	600	600								
To the Flood	1656	1307	2262	2256		-		-			-	

We mention two or three other indications of design, in what are thought to be corruptions of the Hebrew text. The third period of history, the dates of which form the subject of these extended observations, reaches from the giving of the promise to Abraham, to the exode of the Israelites from Egypt. There is no difficulty in ascertaining its length; and there are no means of reconciling it with Exodus xii. 40, (a passage already alluded to,) unless by adopting in that passage the reading of the Seventy: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt, and in Canaan, was 430 years." The omission in the Hebrew MSS. of the words printed in Italics, makes Paul to contradict Moses; a contradiction, it is conjectured, which the Rabbies would be far from regretting: "The covenant which was

confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was 430 years after, cannot disannul." Gal. iii. 17. In the book of Judges, as we have seen, the Jews, and Usher following them, shorten the chronology at least a century; again opposing their computation to the assertion of the Apostle :- " After that, he gave unto them Judges about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet." Acts xiii. 20. Another passage, in which it is to be feared we may detect the marks of the vitiating hand of the Rabbies, is 1 Kings vi. 1. "It came to pass, in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord." Now if to the 450 years assigned by Paul as the time of the Judges, we add 40, from the Exodus to the death of Moses; 7 to the division of the land; 12 for the government of Samuel alone; 40 for the government of Samuel and Saul; 40 for the reign of David; and 3 from his death to the foundation of the temple, the sum will be 592. The Septuagint here fails us, and agrees with the Hebrew. Still, we need not despair of coming at the truth. Neither the narrative in the book of Judges, nor the words of Paul, can by any force or dexterity be twisted into accordance with the verse now before us. It is useless to disguise the fact, that one or the other must be given up. The inquiry arises, Is there external evidence to support or impugn either?

The calculations of Demetrius and Eupolemus, and those of other pagan authors, as quoted by Clemens and Theophilus, assume the longer series of years. Josephus refers to the very passage, but gives the number 592. (Book 8, chap. 3.) Origen, in his Commentary on the gospel of John, cites the text, 1 Kings vi. 1, but without the slightest notice of the number of years which had intervened between that event and the exode. Γεγραπται ἐν τη τριτη των βασιλείων, τους λιθους καὶ τα ξυλα τρισιν ἐτεσιν ἐτοιμασαν, ἐν δε τω τεταρτω ἐτει, μηνη δευτερα, βασιλευοντος του βασιλεως Σολομοντος επι Ισραηλ· κ. τ. λ.

From the whole it is inferred, that the former part of the verse in question is an interpolation intended to overthrow the chro-

nology of Paul.

We must hastily conclude by suggesting the desirableness—may we not say the necessity—of some speedy consideration of this by no means unimportant subject, with a view to the correction of the chronology, at all events, in foreign versions of the Scriptures. Vossius, Peyron, Hayes, Jackson, Hales, Faber, and Drummond reject, without hesitation, the contracted scheme of the Rabbinical text. Peyron informs us, that 'the Jesuit missionaries who were employed in China, deemed it necessary to 'come back to Rome, to ask permission to use the Septuagint 'calculation, in order to satisfy the scruples of the better-informed 'classes in that singular country.'

Art. III. A New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, with a Commentary, and an Appendix of various Dissertations. By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M.A. Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the State of Massachusetts. Republished, by appointment of the Author, with Prefaces and an Index, under the care of John Pye Smith, D.D., and E. Henderson, Doct. Philos. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 563. London, 1833.

[Concluded from Page 303.]

WE have the authority of an Apostle to establish the fact, that in the epistles of Paul there " are some things hard to be understood;" and no one of them is more replete with passages of difficult interpretation, than that to which Mr. Stuart's present Commentary relates. Some of the subjects which are comprised in its contents have, more than almost any other topics of theology, engaged the attention of Divines; and the controversies to which they have given rise, have been wider in their range than almost any others by which the differences of religious parties have been Christians who, on all the essential points of their perpetuated. common faith are agreed, vary so much in the estimate they form of the Apostle's representations in particular portions of this Epistle, as to assume distinctive names, which hold them in an unseemly and unhappy separation. An interpretation of such passages, which should unite those who now deduce from them conclusions that place them in opposition to each other, would, if so admitted, be a pledge of an almost entire agreement in the explanation of the Apostle's writings. Whether such an interpretation shall ever be proposed, and meet with a concurrent acceptance, may be doubted. Every attempt, however, to illustrate the phraseology of this Epistle, which shall be soberly conducted, in the hands of an expositor of critical learning and skill, may be of service in promoting an approximation to a more harmonious understanding of debated topics, by enlarging the knowledge of the principles on which all correct interpretation of the Scriptures must be established, and by applying them so as to remove many of the existing causes of misapprehension and misconstruction.

Mr. Stuart's Commentary is such an attempt. The manner in which it is constructed and executed, renders it a most valuable companion to the student who may be desirous of examining the Epistle to the Romans with scrupulous exactness, by the light of an appropriate and copious philology. The extensive use of philological comment is the principal distinction of Mr. Stuart's volume; and on this account it is deserving of high commendation.

Many of the difficulties which have been remarked by the expositors of this Epistle, have been attributed to peculiarities in the style of the Apostle Paul; and the discovery and elucidation of these have consequently engaged much of their attention. Of the quickness and vehemence of his manner, the abruptness of his expressions and transitions, the involution of his sentences, and the parenthetical construction of many of his periods, every attentive reader of this Epistle must be apprised. They are, indeed, too obvious to escape the notice of any reader. But the Apostle's diction is rendered not more difficult of explication by these characters of his writing, than by the use of certain words and phrases which are of frequent occurrence, and the sense of which is not to be determined in one place by their meaning in another. If, for example, we could determine the exact import of the term vomos, which the Apostle so frequently employs, in each instance of its application, we should proceed with more confidence than we feel, in our attempts to discriminate its reference. Something more, it must be admitted, than a knowledge of grammar and of words, is necessary for the understanding of the Apostle's writings; but a correct perception of the import of his terms, and an insight into his grammatical constructions, are in the first place necessary: and these, as indispensable requisites for ascertaining his meaning, are the most essential qualifications for an expositor of Paul's Epistles. The following observations of Mr. Stuart, in illustration of the Apostle's style, may assist the reader of his Epistles in remarking some of the peculiarities

'It is an obvious peculiarity of this Apostle's style, that he abounds in parentheses. His mind appears to have been so glowing, and so full of ideas, that the expression of a single word seems often to call forth as it were a burst of thought respecting the import of that word, which hinders him from advancing in the sentence that he had begun, until he has given some vent to the feelings thus incidentally occasioned. The expression of these feelings makes what I have named parenthesis above; although this may not always be designated as such, in our printed books. To illustrate what I mean, let us take the examples in the first paragraph of the Epistle before us. When Paul (ver. 1) had named the ivayyerlor Orov, which would recall to the minds of his readers the gospel that was then preached by himself and others, he immediately adds, in order to enforce on their minds a becoming idea of the dignity and excellence of this gospel, a meanyyeiλατο διά των προφητών άυτου έν γραφαϊς άγίαις after which he resumes his subject. But no sooner has he uttered the words τοῦ νίου αὐτοῦ, than another burst of thought respecting the exalted personage thus named, escapes him. First, this Son is yevouirou σάρκα, a descendant of David, the most exalted king who ever occupied the Jewish throne, even as to his humbler condition, or his human nature. Secondly, he is Tou belodistos . . . sixew, i. e. he has been constituted or 'If the reader now will take special notice of this characteristic in the writings of Paul, it will help to unravel many a sentence which would otherwise seem perplexed, and perhaps even irrelevant. To understand well the writings of this Apostle, something more than a knowledge of grammar and of words, is necessary. We must be able to enter into the feelings and sympathies of the writer, and to trace his modes of thought and expression in cases that seem obscure, as

well as in cases which are plain.' pp. 59, 60.

connection with it.

Some editions of the Greek Testament have the parentheses, as thus noticed by Mr. Stuart; other editions are entirely without them; and some have only the portion in the second verse thus marked. In the impressions of the common version, some have the entire paragraph, verses 1—7, without the parenthetical distinctions; and others adopt them only in the second verse.

Mr. Stuart's criticisms are scarcely ever irrelevant to the subjects under discussion. In the following note, however, we meet with remarks which have no relation to the text on which it is designed to be a commentary,—at least no proper and instructive

'vs. 8. τῷ Θεῷ μου, my God; the Christian religion which teaches us to say πάτες ἡμῶν, allows us to say, Θεός μου.—Διὰ Ιησοῦ Χειστοῦ, per Christum, auxilio Christi, interventu Christi, i. e. through, by, or in consequence of what Christ has done or effected; in other words, Deo gratias ago respectu vestrûm omnium, ut Christo adjuvante fides vestra, &c. All that had been done among them to promote a true and saving belief, the Apostle attributes to what Christ had caused or effected. But whether he means to designate what he had done for them by his sufferings and death, or by sending his Spirit, does not certainly appear. In either sense the passage will convey a meaning both true and important.'

But the passage may have a true meaning, and the truth conveyed by it may have its importance, if neither the one sense nor the other were intended. In what misapprehension of the words dià Inσοῦ Χριστοῦ, the preceding comment originated, we are unable to conjecture; but that they are not explained in their

obvious and only admissible reference, is very plain. The phrase, as here used, only qualifies the Apostle's action of thanksgiving, and describes the medium of his eucharistical address.

On verse 13 (chap. i.), Mr. Stuart remarks, 'that the 'apostles were not uniformly and always guided in all their 'thoughts, desires, and purposes, by an infallible spirit of in-'spiration'; and he states, that this view of the subject frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. We can scarcely describe this as an example of the dignus vindice nodus. No serious writers, in treating of the subject of inspiration, have represented the apostles as being constantly, in all their thoughts, desires, and purposes, under its influence. The New Testament does not furnish any ground whatever for attributing to the . apostles such an exemption from the causes of mistake and error, as might, in respect to their own personal views and behaviour, secure an unerring and faultless course. It is as apostles, not as men, that we consider them as laying claim to inspiration, and as being the subjects of a supernatural guidance. Inspiration did not eradicate their mental infirmities, as we know it did not change their physical condition. Inspiration belonged to them as religious teachers, as extraordinary ministers of Christ, who were employed in publishing the gospel. In all other respects, they were not distinguished from their brethren and companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. who, in their own personal concerns, and the general affairs of life, governed themselves by their own apprehension of the course of events, and determined the calls of duty by the maxims of Christian wisdom. Inspiration was given to the Apostle to qualify him as the bearer of a Divine commission, in the fulfilment of which it sustained him in all its relations to the spiritual objects of his ministry; but it did not supersede, nor was it intended to render unnecessary, the exercise of his own judgement in the ordinary circumstances of his personal conduct, and in the general course of his proceedings.

We do not agree with Mr. Stuart in the distribution which he has adopted of the 16th, 17th, and 18th verses of this Chapter. We consider the first or salutatory part of the Epistle as terminating with the 17th verse, and would commence a new paragraph with the 18th. We do not consider the Apostle as declaring that he is not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, 'Because, (1.) 'It reveals the way of pardon for sinners who believe in Christ. (2.) It shews the fearful doom of those who remain in their 'sins, and refuse to believe.' It is simply as to the Gospel's being a gracious dispensation of mercy in delivering men from a sinful state, that the Apostle avows his attachment to it. Nor do we think that the design of verse 18th is to 'shew the fearful doom of those who remain in their sins, and refuse to believe.'

It is not of persons to whom the Gospel revelation had been pub. lished, and who had subjected themselves to the guilt of rejecting it, that the Apostle is writing. He is representing the case of men apart from all distinctive circumstances of this kind. Nothing can be more pertinent than the transition in the 18th verse to the state of mankind as the subjects of moral depravity exposed to the punishment of sin. The Apostle had described the Gospel as the essential and exclusive remedy for the removal of the evils which afflict mankind, and are preventive of their happiness; 'the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek, as discovering the righteousness by which man finds acceptance with God; and having done so, he proceeds to notice the condition of the human race as amenable to Divine justice on account of their moral responsibility and their violation of the Creator's laws. The 18th verse evidently commences a new subject, and should begin a paragraph. Griesbach has so arranged this portion of the Epistle; and many of the most judicious translators and expositors have adopted the same distribution of the verses.

From faith to faith. έκ πίστεως έις πίστιν. Mr. Stuart renders the whole verse: ' For the justification which is of God, is re-' vealed by it, [justification] by faith, in order that we may be-' lieve, as it is written: "The just shall live by faith." In this manner the passage has been explained by many expositors: ' Justitia Dei ex fide, sive per fidem, revelatur ad fidem; hoc 'est, ut in eum credamus.' Others adopt the sense imported in the rendering of the Common Version, and understand the expression as denoting a progressive faith, by which the subject of it is ever more and more transformed into the objective truth; an advancement from a lower to a higher degree of faith. Such a view of the passage is certainly at first sight in accordance with the construction of the Greek text-Δικαιοσύνη γαρ Θεού έν αυτώ αποκαλύπτεται έκ πίστεως εις πίστιν, which is literally rendered in the Common Version. The sense in which Mr. Stuart, in agreement with many of his predecessors, understands the words, would seem to require, - Δικαιοσύνη γαρ Θεοῦ ἐκ πιστεως ἐν αὐτῶ αποκαλύπτεται έις πίστιν; and it would seem difficult to account for the collocation of the words in the text, if the Apostle intended to convey the sense in which they are explained, considering in πίστεως as qualifying δικαιοσυνή. No difficulty whatever is occasioned by the concluding words of the sentence, in πίστεως είς πίστιν, since we meet with parallel phrases denoting transition, or advancement, as and doing sig dofav, 2 Cor. iii. 18, from glory to glory; ἐκ δυνάμεως ἐις δύναμιν, Ps. lxxxiv. 7, from strength to strength. But, as qualifying ἀποκαλύπτεται, there is in έκ πίστεως a difficulty which is very perplexing; for, as Mr. Stuart suggests, What can be the meaning of is revealed from faith? The construction which he adopts, understanding δικαιοσύνη as repeated before ἐκ πίστεως, is probably the true one, since it gives a consistent meaning to the passage, which cannot be said of any other

of the interpretations which have been suggested.

Among the most important terms which occur in this Epistle are the expressions, διααιοσύνη Θεου, διααιόω, which are frequently employed by the Apostle, and the correct apprehension of which is indispensable to the understanding of the primary doctrine of the New Testament. Mr. Stuart largely illustrates these terms. His illustrations are too extensive to admit of our placing them before our readers, but we shall extract his account of the verb διααιόω; referring to our Number for Sept. 1830, (pp. 235–239,) for some remarks on this word and its derivatives.

The Greek sense of the verb dixalow, differs in one respect from the corresponding Hebrew verb, 773; for this (in Kal.) means to be just, to be innocent, to be upright, and also to justify one's self, to be justified, thus having the sense of either a neuter or passive verb. In the active voice, Sixaiow in Greek has only an active sense, and is used in pretty exact correspondence with the forms אדק and דצדיק (Pihel and Hiphil) of the Hebrews, i. e. it means, to declare just, to pronounce just, to justify, i. e. to treat as just; consequently, as intimately connected with this, to pardon, to acquit from accusation, to free from the consequences of sin or transgression, to set free from a deserved This last class of meanings is the one in which Paul usually employs this word. As a locus classicus to vindicate this meaning, we may appeal to Rom. viii. 33, 'Who shall accuse the elect of God? It is God & Sinaswi, who acquits them, viz. of all accusation, or who liberates them from the penal consequences of transgression. Exactly in the same way is it said, in Prov. xvii. 15, 'He who justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both So in Exod. xxiii. 7, 'I will not are an abomination to the Lord.' justify (לא אצריק) the wicked.' In the same manner, Isaiah v. 23, speaks: 'Who justify the wicked (מצדיקי הרשע) for a reward.' these and all such cases, the meaning of the word justify is altogether plain; viz. it signifies to acquit, to free from the penal consequences of guilt, to pronounce just, i. e. to absolve from punishment, it being directly the opposite of condemning or subjecting to the consequences of a penalty.

In this sense, Paul very often employs the verb; e. g. Rom. v. l, εικαιωθέντες, being freed from punishment, being acquitted, being pardoned εικανωθέντες του Θεόν. Rom. v. 9, δικαιωθέντες, being acquitted, pardoned σωθησόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁςγῆς, which salvation is the opposite of being subjected to punishment, or of not being justified. In Gal. ii. 16, 17, δικαιόω is four times employed in the sense absolved, acquitted, or treated as just, i. e. freed from penalty, and admitted to a state of reward. So Gal. iii. 8, 11; iii. 24; v. 4; Tit. iii. 7. In Rom. iv. 5, τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἀσεβῆ is plainly suscept-

ible of no other than the above interpretation; for those who are ungodly, can never be made innocent, in the strict and literal sense of this word; they can only be treated as innocent, i. e. absolved from the condemnation of the law, pardoned, delivered from the penalty threatened against sin. That the idea of pardon, or remission of the penalty threatened by the Divine law, is the one substantially conveyed by δικαίοω and δικαιοσύνη, as generally employed in the writings of Paul, is most evident from Rom. iv. 6, 7; where the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord imputes δικαιοσύνη, i. e. reckons, counts, treats as δίκαιος, is thus described: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes not sin," i. e. whom he does not treat or punish as a sinner. This is a fundamental explanation of the whole subject, so far as the present class of meanings attached to δικαιόν and δικαιοσύνη is concerned.' pp. 82, 83.

In Chap. iii. 10-19, a series of quotations is introduced by the Apostle from the Old Testament, principally from the Psalms, for the purpose of confirming by authority the averment which he had already made, that the Jews as well as the heathen were. in God's account, chargeable with the guilt of moral transgres-Those passages have been described by many expositors, as employed by the Apostle in order to represent the universal depravity of mankind, and as being direct testimonies to the universal corruption of human nature. A question is evidently suggested by this application of the quotations, which is of some consequence, and of which every considerate reader will be disposed to ask for a solution.—Was it in the design of the writers from whom the passages are cited, to invest them with such meaning? The affirmative cannot be maintained, because the passages adduced do not refer to the world at large, nor are they used by their authors in reference to the heathen. In the quoting of these texts from the Old Testament, there is evidently a limitation of them to the Jewish people, in the words of the 20th verse. "Now we know that whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law." Mr. Stuart explains the citations in respect to the moral condition of all unbelieving 'All unbelievers, all who put not their trust in Christ, ' are of the same character with those wicked persons whom the 'Psalmist describes.' 'The context in Ps. xiv. shews, that the " workers of iniquity there mentioned are the party opposed to ' David. Those who opposed the Son of David, are character-'ized by Paul in a similar manner.' But is the Apostle to be thus understood? Is he representing the case of persons who incur guilt by rejecting Christ, and who are in a state of moral delinquency in consequence of their opposition to the Messiah? Plainly not. He is writing of what the Jews were in a moral sense, as those, among others, for whom such a dispensation as

the gracious economy of the Gospel was necessary, and who were sinners apart from all rejection of it, or opposition to it. The application of the citations is to be made out in another way. Their circumcision and their external privileges were the grounds of the confidence of the Jews. The passages prove, as used in the Old Testament, that moral degeneracy was chargeable upon such as possessed them, to whom they could therefore be no ground of dependence; and they are applied by the Apostle to describe the character of the Jews as depraved and amenable to a

law which they had violated.

With the light of Revelation to guide us in our inquiries into all the questions which suggest themselves to us, as we view the circumstances of our moral state, and reflect on the visitation of the human race by death, we may look with other feelings than those of contempt or pride, on the speculations of those who, in ancient times, made the mortality of man an object of their con-They went as far in their researches and in their musings as their reason and their learning could conduct them; but they found themselves but little benefited by these excursions, gaining nothing for their own satisfaction, and retaining all their incompetency to be the instructors of others, in respect to the nature and the issues of the change which closes man's intercourse with the living world. So much as the vulgar knew, the philosophers knew of the physical difference between life and death; but the wisest of them possessed no real advantages over the multitude, as to any knowledge of the moral relations affected by the change. Malum mihi videtur esse Mors, as a text for the discussions of ancient philosophy, included the probabilities of future non-existence, and the extinction of all present modes of enjoyment; but it furnished no occasion of investigating the causes to which the mortality of a reasonable creature like man might be attributed. In the writings of the Apostle, this subject is treated in a manner which, independently of all other evidence sustaining his authority as an inspired instructor, is sufficient to prove that his doctrines were not derived from the schools of human wisdom. In the fifth chapter of this Epistle, the moral connections of death, as affecting the human race, are the subject; and the design of Christ's mediation as influencing them, is explained by the inspired writer. The passage from vs. 12 to vs. 19 is, in respect to the scope of the Apostle's argument, a plain one; but the interpretation of it in detail is replete with difficulties: and the variety of opinions which commentators have deduced from the abundant criticisms which have been applied to the verses, may here, as in some other instances, very properly be noticed, as a caution to the reader against a hasty dismissal of passages from his examination, the general bearing of which may be distinctly perceived. Mr. Stuart's critical observations on this

important portion of the Epistle are too copious and connected to admit of extract that should do justice to them; but his remarks in opposing the conclusion of some other expositors in favour of the doctrine of imputation, we shall lay before our readers.

We must, then, examine the nature of the case. What is it? is, (according to the common theory of imputation,) that the sin of one man is charged upon all his posterity, who are condemned to everlast. ing death because of it, antecedent to, and independently of any voluntary emotion or action on their part. But this idea seems to be attended with some serious difficulties; for (a) it appears to contradict the essential principles of our moral consciousness. We never did, and we never can, feel guilty of another's act, which was done without any knowledge or concurrence of our own. We may just as well say, that we can appropriate to ourselves and make our own, the righteousness of another, as his unrighteousness. But we can never, in either case, even force ourselves into a consciousness that any act is really our own, except one in which we have had a personal and voluntary concern. A transfer of moral turpitude is just as impossible as a transfer of souls; nor does it lie within the boundaries of human effort, that we should repent of Adam's sin. We may be filled, and we should be filled, with deep abasement on account of our degraded and fallen nature; but to repent, in the strict sense of this word, of another's

personal act, is plainly an utter impossibility.

'(b) Such an imputation as that in question, would be in direct opposition to the first principles of moral justice, as conceived of by us, or as represented in the Bible. That "the son shall not die for the iniquity of the father," is as true as that "the father shall not die for the iniquity of the son;" as God has most fully declared in Ezek. xviii. I am aware that Pres. Edwards (Orig. Sin.) has endeavoured to avoid the force of the declarations in this deeply interesting chapter, by averring, that "the thing denied, is communion in the guilt and punishment of the sins of others, that are distinct parts of Adam's race, i. e. who are different individuals," p. 338. The same writer has laboured at length to prove the actual physical or metaphysical (I hardly know which to name it) unity of all our race with Adam. According to him, then, we are all one in Adam and with him. How then can we all be separate and distinct from each other? Are we any more separate from each other, than we are from our first parents? Pres. Edwards and many others have often and at length represented our connexion with Adam, by the figure of a tree and its branches. Conceding this for the present, we may ask, whether the topmost branch is not more nearly and intimately connected with the one next below it, than it is with the root; and whether it receives the laws of its nature any more from the root, than it does from the branch immediately next to it? Then we may ask again, whether any law exists between the branches as they have respect to each other, that is fundamentally different from, and opposite to, that law by which they are all connected with the root? Can the root communicate that to the topmost branch, which does not come through the next branch below the topmost, and conform to the laws of its nature? Or has the root some other mode of communication with the topmost branch, independently of that through the next intermediate one, and in conformity with the laws of its nature?

But I must desist from urging questions. I can only say, that my limits, and the nature of my present undertaking, allow me to do no more than to give mere hints; and these only in respect to a small part of the subject. I make the appeal, however, to all who have not a point to carry, and ask, for I feel constrained to ask: Would such an exegesis of the prophet Ezekiel have ever been produced, except for the sake of avoiding the force of a consideration, which at least seems to overturn the doctrine of imputation in its rigid sense? add only, that the whole doctrine of moral retribution, as built on the principles of moral justice, appears, at the very first view of it which is taken by our conscience and our sense of right and wrong, to be consentaneous with the principles laid down in Ezek. xviii.; and the representations of moral retribution in the Scriptures surely accord with the views of that chapter.

But still you admit, that the whole human race became degenerate

and degraded in consequence of the act of Adam?

'I do so; I fully believe it. I reject all the attempts to explain away this. (see in Excursus V.) I go further: I admit not only the loss of an original state of righteousness to all, in consequence of Adam's first sin, but that temporal evils and death have come of course on all by means of it. I admit that all are born in such a state, that it is now certain they will be sinners as soon as they are moral agents, and that they never will be holy until they are regenerated; consequently I must admit, that all have come into imminent hazard of everlasting death, by means of Adam's first offence. But it does not follow, that the evils of the present life, (which, I admit, in and by themselves considered, may be truly regarded as a part of the penalty threatened to Adam,) may not still, through "superabounding grace, be converted even into instruments of good, with regard to the discipline of the penitent in this fallen state. "We know that all things will work together for good to those who love God." If infants are saved (as I do hope and trust they are), all the evils which they now suffer in this world, may be made, by a wise and holy Providence, to contribute to their eternal good. In what way I pretend not to determine. If they are in fact saved, this fact of itself will render it certain, that their sufferings will be made to contribute to their eternal good; for so much we are taught, and so much therefore we know from the assurances of the Scriptures. It does not follow, then, because a part, a very small part of the penalty of the law is inflicted on all our race without exception, and only such a part as is capable of becoming the means of good, (so the "superabounding" and wonderful grace of the Gospel has ordered it,) that it can be proved from such infliction, that all are the heirs of eternal damnation, whether guilty or not of voluntary sins. It does not follow, because we are born destitute of those holy inclinations which Adam had in his original state, that we are born with a positive infusion of evil inclinations into our nature. (See Edwards on Orig. Sin, Part IV. chap. ii., who strongly asserts here the same sentiment.) It does not follow, because it is certain that all who come to be moral agents, will sin, and will not do any thing which is holy until they are regenerated, that when men do sin, they do not sin of their own free will and choice, and without any compulsion or necessity. It was just as certain, before Adam and the fallen angels first sinned, that they would sin, as it is now that they did sin. Yet they sinned freely. Certainty, in the view of God or in the nature of things, as to a future event, does not diminish at all from the possibility that it should be altogether voluntary and of free choice. It does not follow, then, from the entire certainty that all Adam's race in their present fallen condition will sin so soon as they are capable of sinning, and thus bring on themselves the sentence of death in its fullest sense,

that his sin is strictly and fully imputed to them.

' I might go further. Pres. Edwards and others have vehemently urged the universality of sin, as a proof that our nature has inherited a positive infusion of corruption from Adam; and he insists on this at great length, in the first part of his Treatise on Original Sin, as an unanswerable argument. But I find great difficulty in admitting the force of the argument. Just so far as the human race have had any trial in a pure and holy state, just so far the consequence was a universal falling from that state. Pres. Edwards himself has taken great pains, in another part of his book, to shew that we had a more favourable trial in the person of Adam, than we should have had in propria persona. Of course, then, he must admit that we all should have fallen, had we, like Adam, been placed in a state of holiness. The corruption, therefore, by his own arguments, would have been just as universal as it now is, if all men had been placed on trial in a state of innocence. How then can the *universality* of corruption prove that men have now a positively depraved nature which has been inherited from Adam?

'I might even go further still, and aver, that if the argument from the universality of corruption be a valid one to prove our native and positive depravity; the same argument will prove, that men would have been greater sinners if they had been born in a holy state than they now are. For as all of mankind who were placed on trial in a state of holiness did fall; and as, by the statement of Pres. Edwards himself, it must be admitted that all their posterity would have fallen, in the like condition; and as it is clear, that when beings in a holy state sin and fall, they are pre-eminently guilty; so, for aught that I can see, Pres. Edwards himself being judge, the guilt of men would have been just as universal as it now is, if they had been born holy and placed on trial as Adam was; while the measure of this guilt would of course have been much greater than at present. For why were the fallen angels passed by, without any redemption provided for them, if their sin was not beyond the reach of mercy because of their previous holy state? And why did Adam's first sin produce such tremendous consequences as no other sin among men ever produced, unless its aggravation was exceedingly great, in consequence of his having fallen from a state of holiness? And even at the present time, is it not true, that the sins of Christians are, for obvious reasons, more blameworthy than those of the unregenerate?

But to return; when I say, then, that the whole human race have become degenerate and degraded by the fall, I mean, that they have lost the righteousness of their original state; that they are subjected to various evils in the present life; that they are in such circumstances, that they will all sin as soon as they are capable of sinning, and never do any thing holy until they are regenerated. But in his original state, Adam did neither sin as soon as he was capable of doing it; nor did he fail to live in a manner entirely holy, for some time: how long, the Scriptures have not told us. Here, then, are two things, in which his state was exceedingly different from ours; and in respect to these two things, it was far superior to ours. This entitles us to say, that our nature is now degraded and degenerate in itself considered. As elevated by the grace of God, a different view is presented. But we have been contemplating it now, merely as it is in itself.

"I add only, that, as "the many" are never "made righteous" without penitence and faith, i. e. without some act which is properly their own, so, by a parity of reason, we must suppose that "the many" are not "constituted sinners," except in the same way.

'I see no way, then, either by philology or from the nature of the case, of establishing the doctrine of imputation, in the sense of moral transfer or communication of turpitude, or in the sense of guilt construed as meaning obnoxiousness to punishment in the full and proper sense of the word; at least, no way of proving this from the passage under examination.' pp. 233—236.

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The passage in chap. vii. 5-25. is very closely examined by the Author, and very ably treated, both in the notes of his Commentary, and in an Excursus (VI.) at the end of the volume. The import of this section of the Epistle has been a much contested point among theologians, and has been the subject of much discussion by practical as well as by critical expositors. By one class of these, the entire description comprehended in the verses has been applied to Christian experience; and by another, it has been explained in reference to the case of an unregenerate person. For the former, Augustine was the earliest advocate; and his sentiments have been adopted by many distinguished writers who in other respects have taken the same view of Christian doctrines as he is so well known to have maintained. Calvin considers the Apostle as proposing the example of a regenerate man. A regenerate man, he thinks, supplies the most appropriate example by which the great disagreement of our nature with the righteousness of the law may The warfare described by the Apostle, he affirms, be known, does not exist in man until he has been sanctified by the Spirit of God, Paul, he remarks, is disputing concerning none but the pious, who are now regenerated. Arminius, on the other hand, in his Dissertation on the true and genuine sense of the ' seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans,' maintains, that the Apostle is describing the condition and feelings of an unrenewed man under the law. This is the sense in which the

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passage was understood by Chrysostom and the early Greek commentators; and it is the sense which Mr. Stuart regards as the true one.

In his preface to the present edition of Mr. Stuart's Commentary, Dr. J. P. Smith declares that he is not convinced by his very able discussion of the question, whether the case put, and the description so pathetically drawn, in the seventh chapter of this epistle, refers to an unconverted man, or to the Apostle him-The evidence in favour self as a sincere and practical Christian. of the latter method of interpretation, seems, he remarks, more weighty than all which Mr. Stuart has advanced against it, and he goes on to say: 'The scope of the passage (to evince the ' necessity of Divine Grace in order to the sanctification of the ' soul) appears to me to be well served by an exhibition of the ' self-displicency which a vigilant and tender conscience entertains ' concerning its own feelings. The instances of phraseology, in ' some respects similar, which the Author brings forward in order ' to shew that the brighter side of the picture admits an application ' to an unrenewed mind, are all widely different from the case before us. In all of them, the bearing of the language cannot be mistaken: for the characters were evidently ungodly, and 'the connected parts of each description even rest upon that ' fact, as prominent in itself, and principal in the argument. 'Here, every thing in the interior and essential properties of the 'description, is of a contrary kind.' Dr. Smith is inclined to suppose, that the Apostle had in his memory, and that he vividly portrays, the feelings of his own mind in the period between his being struck to the ground near the gates of Damascus, and his receiving peace of mind by faith in his gracious Redeemer. There seems to us to be great improbability in this supposition. If the representations in question be referred to the case of the Apostle himself, previously to his being relieved from a state of mental distress by faith in the Redeemer, and while the supposition of pardon and acquired holiness was far from his mind, while probably he entertained not the faintest hope of either, as Dr. Smith supposes, they place him precisely in that state which The Apostle could not then be a sincere Mr. Stuart assumes. and practical Christian. If the supposition of pardon and acquired holiness was far from his mind, he could not then be otherwise described than as an unconverted man, whatever might be the strength of his convictions and the bitterness of his spirit as an awakened person. Conversion and hopelessness in respect to forgiveness, never can be predicated of the same individual at any given time. In the expressions, "chief of sinners,"-" less than the least of all saints,"-" not meet to be called an Apostle," there is evidently nothing parallel to those which occur in the portion of the Epistle to the Romans under notice. Paul himself explains the sense in which he was the chief of sinners,—" who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious;"—was "not meet to be called an apostle," because he "persecuted the church of God." And "less than the least of all saints" is only an expression of deep humility. Mr. Stuart discusses, at considerable length, the import of the entire passage; and in his Excursus VI., at the end of the volume, he resumes the subject. His remarks on the allegations of those writers who apply the description to the case of the regenerate, are, in part, as follows:

'It is alleged, that the contest described in Rom. vii. 14—25, is one which accords with the feelings and experience of every Christian; and that he is thus conscious that the interpretation given to it by those who apply it to Christians, must be correct.

'This consideration is, in fact, the main dependence of those who support the exegesis just named; I mean, that by such an appeal to feeling, they produce more conviction on the minds of Christians, than is produced by all their other arguments. After all, however, this is far from determining the case. Let us look at the subject in all its

I concede, in the first place, that Christians have a contest with sin; and that this is as plain and certain, as it is that they are not wholly sanctified in the present life. It is developed by almost every page of Scripture, and every day's experience. That this contest is often a vehement one; that the passions rage, yea, that they do sometimes even gain the victory, is equally plain and certain. It follows, now, of course, that, as the language of Rom. vii. 14—25, is intended to describe a contest between the good principle and the bad one in men, and also a contest in which the evil principle comes off victotorious; so this language can hardly fail of being appropriate to describe all those cases in a Christian's experience, in which sin triumphs. Every Christian at once recognizes and feels, that such cases may be described in language like that which the Apostle employs.

' Here is the advantage which the patrons of this opinion enjoy, and which they have not failed to push even to its utmost extent. After all, however, the ground is unfairly taken, and unfairly maintained. For, first, it is only a part of the case. While Christians have many a contest in which they are overcome by sin, yet they must be victors in far the greater number of cases, if the whole be collectively taken. If this be not true, then it cannot be true, that "he who loveth Christ, keepeth his commandments;" it cannot be true, that "they who love the law of God, do no iniquity;" nor true, that "he who is born of God sinneth not;" nor, that faith enables him who cherishes it, to "overcome the world." As, however, there is no denying the truth of these and the like declarations, and no receding from them, nor explaining them away as meaning less than habitual victory over sin, so it follows, that when verses 14-25, are applied to Christian experience, they are wrongly applied. The person represented in these verses, succumbs to sin IN EVERY INSTANCE of contest. The Christian must not - cannot - does not, so fight

against sin. To assert this, would be to contradict the whole tenor of the Scriptures; it would be abrogating, at once, all which is declared in so pointed a manner, in chap. viii. 1-17.

' Secondly, as I have already noted, there stands in the way of this interpretation, the fact, that a great transition is marked by the commencement of chap. viii., one of which no satisfactory account can be given, if chap. vii. 14-25, is to be interpreted as belonging to those who are under grace.

Thirdly, I repeat the remark, that the question is not, whether what is here said might be applied to Christians; but whether, from the tenor of the context, it appears to be the intention of the writer that it should be so applied. This principle cannot fail to settle the

question concerning such an application.

'In a word; how can it be just reasoning to say, that because verses 14-25 may be applied to describe those contests of the Christian with sin in which the latter is victorious, therefore it does describe Christian experience considered as a whole, and is intended by the writer so to do? What can be more certain, than that Christian experience is not here to the writer's purpose, when his object is, to represent the truly desperate condition of him who is merely under the law.

'So far as reasoning or argument is concerned, the main allegation of those who apply verses 14-25 to Christian experience, remains yet to be considered. It is this, viz. that "the declarations made in these verses respecting the internal man, are such as comport only with the state or condition of a regenerate man; and if this be not admitted, then we must concede that the unregenerate are subjects of

moral good." But,

First, this allegation takes for granted, that the phrases σύμφημι τω νόμω, συνηδομαι τω νόμω, &c., are to be taken in their full strength, without any modification. I must ask the reader, now, instead of repeating here what I have before said, to look back upon the commentary on verse 22, and also what is said near the beginning of the present Excursus, on the subject of deducing arguments in this case merely from the forms of expression, without a special reference to the context and the object which the writer has in view. When the whole of this is weighed, I would inquire, whether he who interprets chap. vii. 5-25, as having respect to one who is under law, has not just as good a claim to insist that σαρχικός, πεπραμένος ύπο την άμαρτίαν, άιχμα-Αυτίζοντα με τω νόμω της αμαςτίας, &c., shall be taken without abatement or modification? And now, what is to be the result? Plainly this, viz.: - that the writer has described an impossible state, or in which a man is under law and under grace at one and the same time; one in which sin is predominant in all cases, and grace a power on the whole predominant, at one and the same time. As this cannot be admitted, which set of terms in the description must be modified?—for one of them certainly must be. The answer to this question may be found in the considerations which have been suggested above.'

pp. 540, 541.

Is the Apostle, then, to be considered in this passage as speak-

ing of himself, or as describing an assumed case, in respect to which he uses the first person for the purpose of representing it more emphatically than if another mode of exhibiting it had been adopted by him? If it be alleged, that he is speaking of himself, that he is illustrating certain states of mind, by adducing his own experience as the example of their alternations and influence, it seems necessary to consider his representations as descriptive of himself at the time of his addressing the Christians at Rome; with the obvious exception, indeed, of those instances in which the terms used by him refer to a former period of his A question, then, naturally arises on this view of the subject, Do his writings suggest, in any other part of them, so imperfect an influence of the great principles which he believed and maintained, and so variable a state of feeling, resulting from the obscuration of Christian hope, as to induce us, in respect to a passage which may be otherwise explained, to interpret the expressions which he uses in reference to his own character? We can see no propriety in any other answer to such a question than a negative one.

But, whatever may be the true interpretation of this much disputed passage, it is obvious, and of some consequence to remark, that those expositors who have adopted the opinion which is in opposition to that for which Mr. Stuart is an advocate, do not maintain it for the purpose of lowering the standard of Christian influence in accommodation to the actual state of any professors of the religion of Christ. No insinuations of this kind are made by Mr. Stuart; nor could he so offend against truth and charity as to make them; but they have been so employed. Mr. Stuart himself is one example of many that might be produced, of agreement with the doctrines which are termed Calvinistic, combined with dissent from other writers who maintain them in respect to the application of Rom. vii. 5-25; but neither Mr. Stuart, nor those commentators from whose interpretation of this passage he dissents, regard the determination of its meaning as in any manner connected with the grounds on which a man's

Christian state is to be decided.

Mr. Stuart's discussions of the interesting but obscure passage in Chap. viii. 19—22, will be acceptable to the readers of his Commentary, as assisting them in forming a judgement of its import. The meaning of the verses cannot be determined till the sense of the expression in urious be fixed; but the difficulty of settling its signification is very great; and on this account, as well as in reference to the design of the representations in the entire passage, it has always been described by critical expositors as a locus vexatissimus. That in urious denotes the visible creation, the material world, exclusive of intelligent natures, is an opinion which has been powerfully supported by the commentators who have adopt-

ed it, among whom are found writers of the most distinguished critical and theological reputation. Others explain the term as referring to the rational creation, the whole race of mankind. This is the view which Mr. Stuart takes of the passage. He examines minutely, and with much acuteness, the other opinion, and offers very powerful arguments against it.

'If,' he remarks, 'κτίσις means the material or natural world, on the one hand, and αὐτοὶ την ἀπαςχην τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες means Christians on the other, then here is a lacuna which cannot well be imagined or accounted for. Christians are subject to a frail and dying state, but are looking for a better one; and the natural world is in the same circumstances; but the world of men in general, the world of rational beings who are not regenerate, have no concern or interest in all this; they are not even mentioned. Can it be supposed, now, that the Apostle has made such an important, unspeakably important omission as this, in such a discourse and such a connection? The natural, physical world brought into the account, but the world of perishing men left out! I must have confirmation "strong as proof from holy writ" to make me adopt an interpretation that offers such a manifest incongruity.' pp. 329, 330.

This is the last, and not the least forcibly urged of the reasons which Mr. Stuart adduces for not admitting the weight of the arguments offered by the advocates of the interpretation which There is, however, in our view of the case, a much greater difficulty to be overcome than any which he may appear to have removed, before either his own hypothesis can be established, or that of his opponents refuted. It is necessary to ask, What is the Apostle's design in this paragraph? What he means to say is thus explained by Mr. Stuart: 'The very na-' ture and condition of the human race point to a future state; 'they declare that this is an imperfect, frail, dying, unhappy ' state; that man does not, and cannot, attain the end of his being ' here; and even Christians, supported as they are by the earnest ' of future glory, still find themselves obliged to sympathize with 'all others in these sufferings, sorrows, and deferred hopes.' Now, if the design of the Apostle be only to represent the state of mankind, of men in general, as one of disquietude, in which their frail and dying condition is so felt as to impel their desires forward to a better state, -if this is the amount of what the Apostle says, that man's dissatisfaction proves that they are unhappy, and that their constant restlessness is an indication of aspiration after a state of satisfied desire, it may be conceded that Mr. Stuart's interpretation is a substantial one. But is there not more in the design of the Apostle than this? What are we to understand him as intending in the 21st verse- Ότι και αὐτή ή κτίσις έλευθερωθήσεται. κ. τ. λ. 'Because the creature itself also shall 'be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious 'liberty of the children of God?' Are not these words a declaration that the *\tau_i\sigma_i\s

'If even the wicked, who love this world, are not satisfied with it, and are made to sigh after another and more perfect state, then follows what the Apostle has designed to urge, viz. the conclusion that God has strongly impressed on our whole race, the conviction that there is a better state, and that it is highly needed.' p. 333.

Mr. Stuart translates Chap. ix. 1-3, in the following manner.

'I say the truth in Christ, I do not speak falsely, (as my conscience 2 testifieth for me in the Holy Spirit,) that I have great sorrow and 3 continual anguish in my heart. For I could wish even myself to be devoted to destruction by Christ, instead of my brethren, my kinsmen after the flesh.'

Could the Apostle express the sentiment which is here attributed to him? Could he wish himself to be devoted to destruction by Christ? The possibility is not, Mr. Stuart remarks, p. 363, at all implied in what he says. In the following criticism, however, the reasoning is very insufficient to sustain the assumption.

' Ηὐχόμην γὰς αὐτός, for I myself could wish. Compare Acts xxv. 22, εβουλόμην, I could wish; Gal. iv. 20, ήθελον, I could desire. But why not translate, I did wish, i. e. I did wish, when I was an unconverted Jew? Because, (1.) The Apostle designs to shew his present love to the Jews. Who questioned his strong attachment to them, when he persecuted Stephen and others, before his conversion? Or to what purpose could it be now to exhibit this, when his love to them since he became a Christian, is the only thing that is called in question? Then, (2.) Neither the present εύχομαι, nor the optative εύχοίμην, would accurately express what the Apostle means here. Ευχομαι (Ind. present) would mean, I wish by way of direct and positive affirmation, and with the implication that the thing wished might take place; εὐχοίμην (Opt.) I am wishing with desire, implying the possibility that the thing wished for would take place. On the other hand (ηὐχόμην), as here employed, I could wish, implies, that whatever his desires may be, after all the thing wished for is impossible, or it cannot take place; which is doubtless the very shade of thought that the writer would design to express.' pp. 360, 361.

No such implication is contained in the word. Mr. Stuart's examples give no countenance to his construction. There was no impossibility in the way of Agrippa's wish, " I would (ἐβουλόμην) also hear the man myself." Acts xxv. 22. "To-morrow", said Festus, "thou shalt hear him." There was no insuperable hinderance to Paul's being present with the Galatians: the thing wished in this instance was certainly possible. That the Apostle intended to express his present love to the Jews is evident; but that the fact was so, is no reason for not rendering the verb, I did wish. The strong affection of the Apostle towards them is manifest from the construction which has been suggested by several writers who propose to include Huxounv τοῦ Χριστοῦ in a parenthesis, and to read: 'I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart, on account of my brethren, my kinsmen ac-' cording to the flesh;' and refer the words of the parenthesis to the Apostle's recollection of his former state of opposition and enmity to Christ. We do not admit this view of the passage as being free from difficulty, but it appears to us to be much less perplexing than that which Mr. Stuart has endeavoured to defend. How strong soever might be the affection of the Apostle towards the Jews, and how pungent soever his grief on account of their infidelity, we cannot conceive of his uttering such a sentiment as this: 'I could wish myself to be devoted to destruc-' tion by Christ, in their stead.'

We must now dismiss this very copious and erudite Commentary, with many thanks to the laborious and pious Author for these results of his studies on one of the most important and difficult books of the New Testament. The extent of his criticisms on many parts of the Epistle, and the close connexion of his discussions, have prevented us from furnishing to our readers many specimens of his superior qualifications as an Expositor, by which our attention has been arrested in our progress through his work. As a treasury of philological learning, it will be found of inestim-

able value to the Student.

In concluding our notice of this Translation and Commentary, which we have already commended to the attention of our readers as a most meritorious performance, we ought perhaps to apologize to the highly respectable Author for the inadequate manner in which we have furnished the proofs of its superior excellence as a critical exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. Its philological merits are very distinguished; but the minuteness of its details in explaining the import of words and the structure of sentences, and the connexion between the several portions of his criticisms, would render it very difficult by any extracts to render them substantial justice. Mr. Stuart's work is throughout constructed on the principle, that philological knowledge is the basis of all correct interpretation of the Scriptures. The meaning of

terms, in themselves considered, and in their relation to other expressions which qualify or serve to define them, he invariably endeavours to discover, and conducts his examinations with acuteness, and generally with successful results. In this department, his labours are sometimes excessive rather than deficient; but in such cases, students in their noviciate may be essentially benefited by them. A very valuable department of the work will be found in the summary of contents prefixed to the chapters and inferior divisions of the text. In these, the Author has shewn great skill in developing the design of the writer, and in pointing out the relation of his propositions, and the course and bearings of his argument. The Commentary before us is distinguished from many other Expositions of the Epistle to the Romans, by the narrow limits within which the Author has confined his theological discussions. Sermon-writers to whom divinity commonplaces and sparkling paragraphs might be desiderata, will find nothing to gratify them in these pages; but the independent inquirer who welcomes every addition to his means of following truth into her interior recesses, will be thankful for the assistance which the volume before us will afford him. On some topics which the Author has discussed, no illustrations which human learning or human wisdom can supply, will ever be deemed satisfactory; but, in his remarks upon them, they are brought before us as comprising instructive lessons, not unnecessary for any of the parties who vary in their interpretations of the passages which embody them. Mr. Stuart always writes as is becoming a scholar and a Christian; and throughout his work, we find an example in illustration of his own demands of the homage due to truth.

'When will it be believed that scorn is not critical acumen, and that calling men heretics is not an argument that will convince such as take the liberty to think and examine for themselves? When will such appeals cease? And when shall we have reasons instead of assertions, criticism in the place of denunciation, and a full practical exhibition of the truth, that the TESTIMONY of the DIVINE WORD stands immeasurably higher than all human authority?' p. 544.

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Art. IV. 1. An Historical and Descriptive Account of Persia, from the earliest Ages to the present Time: with a detailed View of its Resources, Government, Population, Natural History, and the Character of its Inhabitants, particularly of the Wandering Tribes; including a Description of Afghanistan and Beloochistan. By James B. Fraser, Esq., Author of "Travels in Khorasan," "A Tour through the Himalaya," &c., &c. Illustrated by a Map and thirteen Engravings. 12mo., pp. 472. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Vol. XV.) Edinburgh, 1834.

2. History of Arabia, Ancient and Modern: containing a Description of the Country—An Account of its Inhabitants, Antiquities, Political Condition and early Commerce—the Life and Religion of Mohammed—the Conquests, Arts and Literature of the Saracens—the Caliphs of Damascus, Bagdad, Africa, and Spain—the Civil Government and Religious Ceremonies of the Modern Arabs—Origin and Suppression of the Wahabees—the Institutions, Character, Manners, and Customs of the Bedouins, and a Comprehensive View of its Natural History. By Andrew Crichton. With a Map and ten Engravings. In two Volumes. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Vols. XIII. and XIV.) Edinburgh, 1833.

T is not usual to make a title-page serve as a table of Contents; and there is an appearance of puff about this literary bill of fare, which would not lead us to anticipate much intrinsic merit in the publication, did not the name of Mr. Fraser afford a pledge for the interest of the volume which he has furnished. In fact, an air of quackery and pretence is thrown over the whole series of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, by the vulgar stratagems of the publishers. Several of the volumes are of the flimsiest construction, and have evidently been hastily got up in a popular style; and yet, there is put forth a pompous array of names, and a pretension to scientific accuracy, wholly unsupported by the general character of the work. Not only so, but the language of disparagement is employed in reference to other works, to which the compilers of these volumes have obviously been under some obligations; and claims are made to originality, which ill accord with the most direct plagiarism. These tricks of trade are extremely reprehensible and disgusting. But, having fairly spoken out our opinion of Messrs. Oliver and Boyd's proceedings, we shall address ourselves to the more pleasing task of giving an account of the volumes before us.

Mr. Fraser has arranged his account of Persia under twelve chapters. The first two are occupied with the geography of the country. Chap. III. treats of the ancient history; and Chap. IV. of the ancient religion of Persia. We have then a chapter devoted to the extant antiquities. The history is resumed in the sixth and seventh chapters, and brought down to the present time. Chap. VIII. is on the resources and government of the empire; chap. IX., on the present state of its religion, science, and literature; and chap. X., on the character and customs of the people. An Account of Afghanistan occupies a distinct chapter; and a concluding one is devoted to Natural History.

The Persian empire no longer exists but in history. It is a mere section of it which forms the narrow kingdom of the present representative of the Sefis and Khosrous of other days, Of the thirteen provinces enumerated by Mr. Fraser, Seistan, Mekran, and the greater part of Khorasan no longer acknowledge the so-

vereignty of the Shah of Tehraun; Kourdistan has never been strictly subject to Persia; and a large portion of Ajerbijan has been wrested from its present ruler by the encroachments of Russia and Turkey. Persian Armenia has been transferred from a Mohammedan to a Christian power; and no other limits seem imposed to the conquests of Russia, than those which her policy may dictate. The downfal of the present dynasty, Mr. Fraser considers to be fast approaching. The death of Abbas Meerza has deprived Persia of its most enlightened prince; but it may have saved the country from the calamities of a disputed succession. The very name of the Kajars (the reigning family) is, however, detested throughout the kingdom; and

'it is notorious,' adds the present writer, 'that pressing petitions have been made on the part of the greater number of the chiefs and nobles, backed by the earnest wishes of all ranks, for permission to throw themselves upon British protection; declaring that all they look for is peace and security, and protesting that, should their application be rejected, they will rather submit to Russia, than continue any longer subject to the misrule and extortion of their present masters. The earnestness with which these overtures have been urged, arises, no doubt, from their knowledge of the security to property and perfect religious liberty, and protection to all orders, enjoyed by British subjects in India, contrasted with their own precarious condition.'—p. 279.

We think that Sir John Malcolm would have made a capital king of Persia, and probably a popular one, if he could have managed the moollahs; but, putting aside the scruples that might have been felt in displacing a legitimate dynasty, it is a question, whether Persia would pay better for being taken under British protection, than the Ionian Isles and some of our own colonies. A country without roads, without navigable rivers, without ports, and therefore almost without commerce, presents no very tempting bait to the lust of conquest. All the invaders and conquerors of other days, fought for a bird which laid golden eggs; but the source of the wealth has long been destroyed. The commerce and revenue of Persia are now alike inconsiderable. According to the best information Mr. Fraser could collect, the whole cash receipts which enter the Persian treasury, do not greatly exceed a million and a half sterling; a smaller revenue than that of Denmark. Other authorities, however, estimate it at rather more than three millions sterling. Khorasan and Ajerbijan yield nothing: it costs money to maintain the governments. Mazanderan furnishes the greater part of the army in lieu of revenue. From Kermanshah, nothing is obtained; from the governments of Casbin, Kashan, Zenjan, Yezd, Senna, and various petty governments, little or nothing. Irak, Fars, and Ghilan furnish the chief land revenue, exclusive of contingent receipts and annual presents. Of the existing commerce, we have the following account.

'The principal raw exports are, silk, cotton, tobacco, rice, and grain, dried fruits, sulphur, horses, wax, and gall-nuts. The amount of the first three articles might be greatly extended, and mercantile ingenuity might devise other objects of barter for foreign productions. Of manufactured goods, Persia sends out only a few,-almost entirely to Russia,—consisting of a considerable quantity of silk and cotton stuffs, with some gold and silver brocade. The principal commercial intercourse is maintained with the empire just mentioned, as well as with Turkey, Bagdad, Arabia, the Uzbecks and Turkomans on their northern frontier, and India. In dealing with all these countries, except the last, the balance of trade, as it is called, is in favour of Persia; and the excess in the value of her exports is returned in ducats, dollars, German crowns, and silver roubles. But though this influx of the precious metals occasions a plentiful circulation, the specie is quickly transported to India, in return for the large surplus produce brought thence annually, either by way of Bushire and Congoon, or of Cabul, to Herat and Yezd, and destined to supply the demand in the countries towards the west. This occasions, indeed, a transit-trade, which is of course maintained with advantage; yet, on the whole, the commerce of the country is very limited for its extent, as the reader will discover from the few facts we have it in our power to place before him.

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Caspian Sea, is estim					
annually about £215					
whole remaining exp	ports fro	om Ghi	lan and	l Mazu	nderan,
let it be stated at					

Allow for exports from the smaller ports on the Persian Gulf, including the islands, 10,000

The commerce with Bagdad, which is considerable, particularly in silk, of which 12,000 mauns shahee is sent thither, may be taken at

thither, may be taken at
That with the rest of Turkey, including a similar quantity of silk,

200,000

£1,225,000

250,000

^{&#}x27;Thus we have a sum under a million and a quarter sterling to represent the total amount of exports from this great country, including the trade already mentioned from India; nor can we, in existing circumstances, hope to witness any great increase. Under a liberal and steady government, the demand would rapidly augment for productions of every kind, but especially for those which Britain can best supply. English cloths, muslins, calicoes, silks, hardware, and other

articles, are already sought after to an extent only limited by the

means of the purchasers. The value of imported goods is of course measured by that of the exports, deducting the amount of specie; for Persia, having no mines of the precious metals, receives them, like other foreign products, by barter; and the extent of that supply may be estimated by the quantity annually sent to India. In the year ending 31st May 1821, the official return of gold and silver shipped from Bushire for India was 34,17,994 new Bombay rupees, equal to about £290,000 of sterling money. But many of the equivalent commodities are conveyed to the westward, whence they return in the shape of specie, with large profit. It is said, that about the time in question (1821), at least 300,000 golden ducats were annually brought into Tabriz by the Teflis merchants alone. A considerable amount in ducats and manêts, or silver roubles, is also imported from Astracan; and the expenses of the Russian mission are defrayed by remittances of the same coins; besides which, a large value of French and German crowns and Spanish dollars is received from Bagdad for goods. Thus a considerable stream of the precious metals flows into Persia; and though the greater proportion passes on to the eastward, there still remains a sufficient quantity to form the currency of the country, to supply the treasury, and furnish the hoards of a few rich individuals throughout the kingdom. the gold, much continues to circulate in the shape of ducats, while the rest is converted into tomans. The silver is all coined into reals, the manêts being current only in the districts bordering on Turkey and the Russian frontiers.' pp. 290-293.

The wealth of Persia, in former times, was derived from its being the great thoroughfare of the trade between China and India, and the countries of Western Asia and Europe, and from its manufactures. Babylon, Seleucia, Ecbatana, Ispahan, owed alike their creation and their epulence to manufactures and com-Under the politic despotism of the Great King, the merchant, in ancient times, pursued his way along the high roads from Sardis to Persepolis and Bactra; and municipal colonies sprang up along the whole line of route. The wealth was, however, confined within the walls of cities, and never distributed over the country. Persia has always consisted of capitals and deserts, the bulk of her population being divided into wandering tribes, who furnish the military force, and are at once pastoral and predatory, and citizens. The cultivators of the soil and the priests form two distinct classes; but the latter are chiefly attached to the religious establishments in towns; and the peasantry find safety only within their walled enclosures. To this concentration of the population in capitals, may be ascribed, in great measure, the superior degree of civilization and refinement by which the Persians have been distinguished among the Orientals; and to the same circumstance we may trace many of their characteristic vices. Whatever may be the future fortunes of Persia, it seems scarcely likely that those cities will recover their ancient importance, which the diversion of the stream of commerce has reduced to decay; but they will always constitute the main sources of wealth and the foci of civilization. The political greatness of Persia was military, and arose partly from the position which she occupied, and which rendered her the natural sovereign of the nations against whom she could close the gates of commerce, or upon whom she could pour forth her hosts in destructive inroads; partly from the character of her wandering tribes, which supplied the physical materials for armies such as, in former times, were able to cope with the best forces of Rome. Not only is the military spirit of the Persians now extinct, but the changes in the art of war have rendered her once formidable hosts unequal to engage with the regular armies of the west: and at the same time, her territory has ceased to be the highway of the commerce of the world, the centre of civilization where the eastern and the western knowledge and enterprise met. Persia has been out-flanked by modern commerce. 'She now stands isolated among the nations. Her Caspian Gates are no longer the portals of the East. The successor of Babylon, Seleucia, Bagdad, Shiraz, is-Calcutta.

The ancient history of Persia is involved in obscurity. Mr. Fraser has contented himself with giving an abstract of Sir John Malcolm's history of the early period, drawn from the native writers, but whose confused annals perplex more than they illustrate the veritable records of western writers. A learned Frenchman, the Baron St. Martin, has pointed out the striking similarity between the structure of the government under the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty and the feudal system of Europe, both

having for their common origin the laws of conquest.

"The Parthians," he says, "a nation of mounted warriors, sheathed in complete steel and possessed of a race of horses equally remarkable for speed and endurance, overran their feebler Persian neighbours almost without opposition, and erected themselves into a true military aristocracy, while the conquered were degraded into a mere herd of slaves. The invaders thus became the feudal lords of the vanquished nation, or rather the nation itself; for the rest, attached to the soil, remained serfs in all the force of the term. Thus, every arrangement of the feudal system may be found in the scheme of the Arsacidan government; the same usages and institutions, even the same dignities and officers. A constable is discovered commanding their armies; marquesses defending the frontiers; barons and feudal lords of all descriptions; knights and men-at-arms: The same limited number of the noble and free; the same multitude of vassals and slaves. The Parthian cavaliers, sheathed man and horse in armour, may well represent the knights of the West. Like them, we find them forming the strength of the army; like them, bearing every thing down before them, whilst the infantry was contemned and disregarded."

The empire of the Arsacidæ, according to this learned Frenchman, was in fact a feudal monarchy composed of four principal kingdoms, all ruled by members of the same family, who regarded as supreme the elder branch, which was seated on the Persian throne. It formed the centre of a vast political system, maintaining relations with the Romans in the West and with the Chinese in the East, the imperial head of which received the imposing title of King of kings; which indeed was no empty boast, for he exercised a sovereign sway over all the princes of his blood. The monarch of Armenia held the next rank; the Prince of Bactria, who possessed the countries between Persia and India, even to the banks of the Indus, was third in importance; and last of all stood the ruler of the Massagetæ, whose dominions were the steppes of Southern Russia, and who governed the nomade tribes encamped between the Don and Volga. The whole race sprung from the Daces, natives of Daghistan, a territory eastward of the Caspian Sea.

The fall of the imperial branch did not immediately involve that of the others. The kings of Bactria, of Scythia, and Armenia, requested aid from the Romans against the usurper; but their strength, already on the decline, was unequal to cope with the rising power of Persia, and in the beginning of the fifth century the two former submitted to the dominion of the Hiatilla or White Huns of Sogdiana. The Armenian monarchs maintained themselves somewhat longer; they embraced the Gospel thirty years before Constantine, and were thus the first Christian kings. Their reign terminated A. D. 428; but the family continued to exist in Persia, where a branch of them once more attained to sovereign power under the title of the Sama-

nides.'-pp. 123-125.

We leap over twelve hundred years to take a view of the unextinguished military strength and political importance of Persia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

'At the time when Chardin wrote, which was in the days of the great Abbas, the martial spirit which had animated the nation, was almost extinct for want of exercise; and with it had sunk much of the real power of the empire. Still there was kept up a large force,-a sort of standing army, which had in fact been only established by that great prince. Previously to his reign there were no troops immediately paid by the crown, but each province supplied a fixed number of horsemen, which either were or were not effective, according to the genius of the sovereign and the consequent demand for their services. Besides these, there was the registered militia of the country, which constituted a very uncertain body, either as regarded discipline or numerical strength. Shah Ismael possessed no other materials than these for his extensive conquests; but his abilities compensated all disadvantages. Abbas, observing the benefit which the Turks derived from their janizaries, with the view of opposing them effectually, as well as to counterbalance the dangerous power of the Kuzzilbash chiefs, raised two corps; one consisting of 12,000 foot-soldiers, who, from the arms they used, were called toffunchees or musketeers; the

other comprehending a like number of cavalry. Both were regularly

disciplined, and paid by the crown.

In Chardin's time these troops were still maintained; and besides them a force of about 1200 gholams, on whom the sovereigns of Persia have at all times placed great reliance. There were also two smaller regiments of guards; one consisting of 200 men called the Suffees, instituted by Sheik Suffee as body-guards in chief; and the ziezairees, 600 strong, enrolled by Abbas II. This prince disbanded an artillery corps of 12,000 men, which had been raised by his great These were all paid as formerly by the government. The other military force was composed of the Courchees, otherwise called Kuzzilbashes, (or Redheads, from the peculiar cap they wore,) who were considered as regular soldiers, and also of the irregular mi-The former were cavalry, furnished by the chiefs of tribes for grants of land in proportion to the number of their retainers. were commanded by the heads of their own clans, and would obey no other: they received a small annual pay, with provisions for horse and man while on service, and were hardy, robust, active, very efficient in predatory warfare, and in some points exactly resembling the Parthians, whose descendants they were. Their number in the early years of Shah Abbas amounted to 80,000; but the power of their leaders became so formidable, that he saw proper to check it by means of the regular corps we have described. The Courchees were reduced to 30,000, at which force they remained during the visit of Chardin.

'The militia were enrolled from among all denominations of the people; they provided their arms and clothing, and were maintained by their respective provinces or villages, receiving when on service a small pay from the public purse. They had no pretensions to discipline; obeyed only their own officers; and were in fact rather a species of police than a body of regular soldiers. Besides these several classes, whose profession is arms, every man carries weapons; so that the whole male population may be called into action by a warlike so-

vereign.

'In fact, the military force of Persia, like that of all Eastern monarchies, has ever varied, both in numbers and in quality, with the character of the reigning monarch. Thus the troops of Shah Ismael, who had many formal enemies to contend with, became almost invincible; and the sight of his Kuzzilbashes struck terror into the Ottoman squadrons. A similar necessity produced similar results under the sway of the great Abbas; which, again, being united with a restless spirit of conquest, raised the glory of the Persian arms to its utmost height, and depressed the nation to the lowest misery, under the ambitious Nadir. His soldiers feared the frown of their leader more than the enemy's sword, and the dread of death was overlooked, if not despised by all who followed him.

'The same familiarity with arms and danger continued throughout the troubles which succeeded the murder of that prince; and the merciless but politic Aga Mahommed Khan never spared his men in the day of need, nor suffered any relaxation of discipline. But he was aware of the strong points of Asiatic warfare, and employing the tactics of his Parthian ancestors, he successfully opposed more regular troops. While in Khorasan this monarch was informed that the Russians had invaded his western frontier. He assembled his nobles; declared his resolution to march against the enemy; " and my valiant warriors," he added, "shall, by the blessing of God, charge their celebrated lines of infantry, and batteries of cannon, and cut them to pieces with their conquering sabres!" All the chiefs were loud in their applauses, and vowed to support him with their lives. When the assembly broke up, the king, turning to Hajji Ibrahim, demanded whether he marked what had been said? The minister replied that he had. "And think you that I will do what I told them?"-" Undoubtedly, if it is your majesty's pleasure."-" Hajji," said the king, half angry, "have I been mistaken? are you also a fool? Can a man of your wisdom believe I will ever run my head against their walls of steel, or expose my irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops? No, I know better. Their shot shall never reach But they shall possess no country beyond its range; they shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert."'-pp. 298-301.

During the present reign, an attempt has been made to introduce a more effective discipline, and even to organize a regular force on European principles. This force was, however, confined to Ajerbijan, and was entirely the creation of the prince-governor of that province. Its signal failure is attributable partly to peculiarities in the national habits, but chiefly to the inability of the Government to meet the requisite expense.

When the design of forming these regular corps was first contemplated, English officers were invited by the Persian government, and appointed to discipline them; and while they were thus commanded, the troops on several occasions behaved with much steadiness. But no sooner did the peace with Russia take place, than the soldiers, from parsimonious motives, were permitted to return to their homes on the understanding of reassembling whenever they should be required; and the higher orders remained useless appendages at court. On the commencement of the war with Turkey, as British officers could not serve against a friendly nation, they were almost all dismissed, leaving but a few sergeants to manœuvre the horse-artillery. With the exception, however, of the Muscovite deserters, that was the only serviceable part of Abbas Mirza's establishment; for the regimented troops, though better armed, were scarcely in other respects superior to the common surbauze or foot-soldiers of the provinces.

The rest of the military force is maintained on the ancient footing. The cavalry furnished by the chiefs of tribes still continues good, although greatly degenerated. A proportionate deterioration has occurred in the regular militia; their equipment is bad, and little reliance can be placed on them. Some provinces, however, send forth better irregular infantry than others. Mazunderan, for instance, and Astrabad, the original seat of the Kujurs, pay the principal part of their assessment in this sort of military service, maintaining 12,000 toffunchees and 4000 cavalry. These are supposed to be always ready

for actual service, though they are quietly dispersed among their own villages; and as only eight tomans a-year are allowed to each horseman and a proportionately small pittance to the foot soldiers, it is scarcely to be expected that they should keep themselves in an efficient

state of preparation.

Nevertheless, when the king does take the field, he is said, in one way or other, to make up a numerical force of 100,000 fighting-men. which by means of camp-followers may be doubled and even trebled, to the excessive annoyance and loss of the districts through which they pass. In fact they are always more formidable to friends than to foes, and the royal visits to Khorasan, which at one period were made every two or three years, were dreaded more than an incursion of the Turkomans Instead of the hardy veterans who served under Nadir or Uzbecks. and Aga Mohammed, they may be described as a lawless banditti, who shun the face of an enemy, and think only of plunder and peculation. The present king has taken every possible step to crush the martial spirit which he found existing on his accession to the throne. reached the royal honours over the bodies of his relations and of the powerful nobles, whom the uncle destroyed that the nephew might reign in peace. Nurtured in the school of suspicion, he cannot witness energy in his officers without alarm; and this is so well known, that no chief dares to be brave, lest it should prove the signal of disgrace or destruction.' pp. 303—305.

The genuine representatives, and probably the descendants, of the Parthians of other days, are the fierce plunderers who roam the desert eastward of the Caspian Sea, between the Elborz mountains and the Oxus, and who are the scourge of Khorasan. Of these ferocious nomades, Mr. Fraser gives the following description.

'The Yamoots, Gocklans, and Tuckehs, who inhabit the skirts of those mountains, and the desert which lies at their feet, are probably the successors of former tribes who, themselves poured forth from the teeming storehouses of the North, have advanced as opportunity occurred farther into the cultivated country. Their customs and character differ considerably from those of the Eeliauts. They are more erratic, seldom remaining in a station beyond a few days. They encamp in parties varying from thirty to 150 families, each body having its Reish Suffed or Elder, to whom considerable respect is paid, whose advice is generally followed in matters affecting the common interests, and who adjusts petty disputes. But they have no governors, chiefs, or nobles; and no one attempts to arrogate any higher authority than that with which he is invested by the public voice.

The habits of these people are extremely simple. Every one, great and small, enters a tent with the salutation of peace, and takes his seat unceremoniously. They pique themselves upon hospitality; they will almost quarrel for the privilege of entertaining a stranger who approaches as a friend; and some aver that such a guest is safe from all aggression in the camp, and when he departs is furnished with a guide

to the next stage on his journey. Others deny this, and bid travellers

distrust the fairest promises of the Turkomans.

The women are not concealed like those of the Persians. They wear on the lower part of the face a silk or cotton veil, which, covering the mouth and chin, hangs down upon the breast. They frequently put on the head a very high cap glittering with ornaments, and over it a silk hankerchief of some gaudy colour. They have earrings; and the hair, long and plaited, falls in four divisions in front and behind the shoulders. Their persons are clad in loose shirts and vests with sleeves, and drawers of silk or cotton. The children and young women are sometimes beautiful, but in general much the reverse; and the virtue of the latter is not so favourably spoken of as that of the Eeliaut ladies.

The men of these several tribes differ slightly from each other in appearance; though the features of all approach more or less to the Tartar physiognomy, having small eyes set cornerwise, little flat noses, high cheekbones, and a scanty beard or none at all. They wear loose shirts and cloaks bound round the waist with a sash, drawers of cotton or silk, and caps of sheep-skin,—red, gray, or black, according to the fancy of the wearer. They are provided with a spear and sword, bows and arrows, and some have matchlocks; but in parting with the arms they have lost the unerring skill of their forefathers, without having

yet acquired the full use of more modern weapons.

'The Turkomans are rich in flocks and herds of every kind, but they value most their noble breed of horses. These animals are celebrated all over Persia for speed and power of endurance. Their large heads, long necks, bodies, and legs, combined with narrow chests, do not impress a stranger with high ideas of their value, although their powerful quarters, fine shoulders, and the cleanness of their limbs, would not fail to attract the eye of a competent judge; and experience has shown, that for a long-continued effort no horse can compare with that of the desert. In training, they run them many miles day after day, feed them sparingly on plain barley, and pile warm coverings upon them at night to sweat them, until every particle of fat is removed, and the flesh becomes hard and tendinous; so that, to use their own expression, "the flesh is marble." After this treatment they are capable of travelling with wonderful speed a long time, without losing condition or sinking under fatigue. They are also taught to aid their riders with heel and mouth; so that at the voice of their master they seize hold of an enemy, and even chase a fugitive.

Thus mounted, the Turkomans, in larger or smaller bodies according to the object in view, and under a chief chosen for the occasion, set off on their chappows, (or plundering parties,)—a term that causes many a villager in Khorasan, and even in Irak, to tremble with dismay. Carrying behind their saddles a scanty allowance of barley bread or meal, to serve themselves and their horses for a week—for they fare alike—they march day and night, with intervals of not more than an hour's halt at morning and evening prayer. In this way they reach with astonishing celerity the outskirts of the place to be attacked. This is often 400 or 500 miles from their homes,—a distance which they travel at the rate of 80 or 100 miles a-day. A chappow that destroyed,

while the author was at Mushed, a village near Ghorian, forty miles

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from Herat, must have marched fully five hundred miles.

'Arrived at the vicinity of their destined prey, if a small town, they halt in some hollow near it, and wait in silence till the dawn, when the inhabitants open their gates and issue forth on their various occupations. At once the fearful Turkoman shout is heard, and the grim band, dashing from their lurking places, seize all they can get hold of, cut down those who resist, plunder the houses, and, binding the booty on the cattle they have secured, retreat like the passing blast, before

the neighbourhood can receive the alarm.

'Should the object of attack be a caravan, they conceal themselves in some ravine near its course; scouts are stationed unseen, on the heights around; and when the devoted travellers reach the ambuscade, the barbarians dart upon them with a rapidity that defies resistance or escape, bear down every opposition, and bind as prisoners all on whom they can lay hands. Then begins the work of plunder, and generally of blood. Those who are old and unfit for work are massacred; the cattle not likely to be useful in the retreat are disabled or cut to pieces; the goods thought worth the carriage are placed as loads upon the rest: and an immediate retreat is commenced. The captives, with their hands tied behind them, are fastened by ropes to the saddles of the Turkomans, who, if they do not move fast, drive them on with heavy blows. Whatever be the state of the weather, the wretches are stript to the drawers; even shoes are seldom left to them; and they are never accommodated with a horse unless pursuit renders it necessary. With equal rapidity they return home, and lodge both booty and prisoners in their desert abodes; and the latter in due time find a hopeless thraldrom, or a happy release, though at an exorbitant ransom, in the market-places of Bokhara or of Khyvah.' pp. 376-380.

The topographical description in the present volume is very slight and general. In this respect, it differs entirely from the plan adopted by the Editor of the Modern Traveller, the success of which publication led to the projecting of the present series. To the fuller information contained in that work, there is, however, no reference. Indeed, the cautious avoidance of all reference to it is very observable, and we must say, not very creditable. The geography of Ajerbijan and the Caspian provinces has recently received valuable illustration from the journal of a tour performed, by order of his royal highness Abbaz Mirza, by Colonel Monteith, and printed in the third volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society; of which it is our intention to give some account in our next Number.

to give some account in our next Number.

Mr. Crichton's History of Arabia is a highly respectable performance, although the Compiler has laid himself open to some severe strictures, by concealing the extent of his obligations to his predecessors, and more especially by his wholesale plagiarisms from Gibbon*. The titles of the chapters will give the best idea of the plan and contents.

^{*} Brit. Critic, Jan. 1834.

Volume the First. I. Introductory View of Arabian History. II. Description of Arabia. III. Primitive Inhabitants. IV. Ancient History. V. Character, Manners, and Customs of the Ancient Arabs. VI. Life of Mohammed. VII. The Koran. VIII. Conquests of the Saracens. IX. Wars of the Caliphs. X. Conquest of Africa and Spain.

Volume the Second. I. The Abassides. II. Caliphs of Africa, Egypt, and Spain. III. Literature of the Arabs. IV. Civil History and Government. V. Description of the Hedjaz and Mecca. VI. The Mohammedan Pilgrimage. VII. History of the Wahabees. VIII. Social State of the Arabs. IX. Natural History of Arabia.

These volumes, it will be seen, contain a history of the Arabs, rather than of Arabia, and of the various nations who have been included under that general name. The reader will not complain that the work is so comprehensive, although the history of the Spanish, Moorish, and Syrian dynasties might seem scarcely to belong to Arabia, more than the history of England does to that of the country from which our Saxon progenitors issued, or that of the United States to English history. Yet, the diffusion of their language, together with the faith which they planted with the sword, rendered the Arabs of Europe, Barbary, Egypt, and Western Asia essentially one nation, even after the division of the khalifate.

The chief interest of the subject of these volumes is derived from its connexion with the Life and Faith of Mohammed, to which, in fact, all the geographical and descriptive matter is subsidiary. It is not a little remarkable, that Mr. Crichton, in giving a list of the writers who have treated this subject, should not have noticed Mr. Mills, and Mr. Forster. His own biographical sketch is taken chiefly from Gibbon, but without any sufficient or distinct acknowledgement. As a fair specimen of the spirited manner in which he is able to write, we take the following striking observations from the Introduction.

'Nothing in the political annals of mankind presents a more extraordinary spectacle than the sudden and overwhelming revolution which, about the middle of the seventh century, sprung up in this obscure corner of the East. Originating in the bold but impious pretensions of one man, who had the art to concentrate the scattered and impetuous energies of his country into the channel of his own ambition, it spread with amazing celerity; and in less than a hundred years covered an extent of territory greater than was ever owned by Rome in the Augustan age of her power. All that we read of the fabled monarchies of Assyria and Babylon, of the boasted expeditions of Cyrus and Alexander, or the vast regions overrun by the Mogul and Tartar hordes, will bear no comparison to the dominion of Mohammed; for it embraced them all. Reaching from the Pillars of Hercules on the one hand to the confines of China on the other, it comprehended during a certain period three-fourths of Asia, the whole of Northern

Africa, and a considerable portion of Europe.

'It is true that the stability of this colossal power did not equal its greatness. Religious disputes, and the jarring interests of families or individuals who claim an hereditary title to the succession, gave rise to discords and revolts that soon broke down this huge pontifical monarchy into a variety of separate and independent principalities. a later epoch, too, foreign invasion completed that overthrow which intestine divisions had begun. The quarrels of rival caliphs were succeeded by wars and revolutions not less sanguinary than had marked the rise and establishment of their power. Greeks, Turks, and Tartars, numerous as the locusts from their own deserts, poured in their wild and undisciplined swarms on all sides of the Moslem dominions, and in process of time won back the extensive territories which a warlike superstition had wrested from them. New states and kingdoms sprung from this imperial wreck, and gradually settled themselves over the fair and ample regions which the Saracen conquests had embraced. The power and magnificence of the caliphs shrunk back into the same obscurity from which they had risen. But while their temporal dominion was reduced to its ancient limits within the Seas of Arabia, the faith and the fame of Mohammed were left to enjoy all the ascendancy which his first triumphs had gained. The victorious nations who threw off the yoke of his feeble successors retained all their veneration for his religion, and willingly rendered him allegiance as their spiritual master; and, at the present day, his creed reigns throughout the East with nearly as absolute and undisputed authority over the hearts and consciences of men as in the proudest era of Saracen despotism.

Short as was the career of this military pageant, which achieved such vast and extraordinary changes in the moral and political state of a large portion of the world, it is replete with events interesting to the statesman and the philosopher; unfolding a series of characters and incidents that will both engage and reward our curiosity. The victories, revolutions, and capricious vicissitudes of human fortune that pass by in rapid succession, are without example in any nation of ancient or modern Europe. The catalogue of the leading personages, the caliphs and conquerors that figured on this remarkable theatre, presents some strange contrasts to the ordinary history of successful adventurers, and the distribution of earthly grandeur. Among other nations, heroes and legislators generally require a process of training, and it is only by slow and persevering degrees that the usurper ascends the pinnacle of his ambition. Here we have the rare spectacle of slaves mounted on thrones; lawless bandits becoming the dispensers of justice and protection; illiterate shepherds and merchants suddenly transformed into the commanders of armies, or vested with the solemn functions of kings and pontiffs. Yet, singular as it may appear, not a few of them were distinguished for civil and military talents; others have gained a lasting celebrity by their patronage and love of science; and some of them shed a lustre on the diadem, by the exercise of those peaceful and princely virtues which have procured for

the rulers of other countries the venerable title of Fathers of their

people. 'It was in the courts of Bagdad and Cufa, of Damascus and Cordova, that learning found a hospitable asylum, when a succession of barbarous inroads had nearly quenched the last rays of Greek and Roman literature, and scarcely left a single monument of art or genius in Europe. Nothing, except their own victories, is more surprising than the progress which this acute and ingenious people made in the cultivation of every department of human knowledge. From a state of ignorance and barbarism, in which they had been plunged for centuries, they emerged with a lustre not more remarkable for its brilliancy than for the gigantic height to which it rose. Nor can we account, except from the strength and versatility of their mental capacities, for this sudden blaze of genius which burst forth in every corner of their empire, and spread its influence as far as ther arms extended. Many of the caliphs were protectors of learning. They lived surrounded with poets and orators, and assembled in their palaces men of the most distinguished acquirements from every quarter The name of Haroun-al-Raschid, the hero of the Thousand-and-one Nights, stands associated with those enchanting fictions which have made Bagdad a fairy-land, and will continue to diffuse a charm until taste and imagination shall become extinct.

' Under his successors, learning of all kinds was cultivated and propagated with equal zeal. In every town, from the banks of the Tigris to the Atlantic, schools and colleges were established. The sun of science and philosophy diffused its humanizing influence over the fierce spirits and savage manners of Africa. A chain of academies stretched along the whole Mediterranean shore; and in the cities of Cairo, Fez, and Morocco, the most magnificent buildings were ap-

propriated to public instruction.' Vol. I. pp. 22-25.

The second volume of the work bears marks of being hastily put together; and the materials are not well arranged. Chapter IV., 'On the Civil History and Government of the Arabs,' chiefly occupied with topographical description; while the VIIIth chapter, on the 'Social state of the Arabs,' contains information that should have been given under the fourth, to which it forms There is no proper discrimination, moreover, bean appendix. tween the different nations who are confounded under the name The distinction between the Beof Arabs and Arabians. doweens and the dwellers in towns, is of course adverted to; but it is lost sight of in the general description of their social state and manners; while the condition of the Egyptian Fellahs, the Moggrebyns, and the Arabians of Syria, is not noticed. it be said, that the work is professedly only a history of Arabia, then one half of it might have been spared. If, on the contrary, it is designed to give a history and description of the Arabian nation, it is far from complete. But the chief defect of the work is the absence of the comprehensive and philosophical spi-VOL. XI.-N.S.

rit requisite to a just moral estimate of the historical phenomena, and more especially of the true character and social effects of the Mohammedan fanaticism. We ought not, perhaps, to impute this to Mr. Crichton as a failure, since he has made no attempt of the kind, and has been very sparing of moral or religious reflections. As the subject will probably come before us in noticing a valuable work now on our table, we abstain from making these volumes the text of any further remarks.

Art. V.—On the Study of General History: an Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on the Evening of February 14, 1834. By the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Professor of Ancient and Modern History.

NDER the vague denomination of History, we are accustomed to confound, without reflecting, several very distinct lines of investigation and branches of knowledge. General or universal history seems to differ from the history of particular nations or countries as geography does from topography; but, besides this broad distinction, what may be termed, respectively, physical history, political history, and moral or philosophical history—in other words, the history of the globe and its chronology, its various races and languages, the history of states and revolutions with their laws and polities, and the history of Divine Providence,form three species of literary investigation almost as distinct as the sciences of physiology, political economy, and moral philosophy. To speak of the importance of the study of history, is to propound the most common-place truism; and yet, how little study is really given to any one of its distinct branches! What is the worth of the historical knowledge imparted in our schools, consisting, for the most part, of meagre annals, romantic fables, and discoloured facts, the moral tendency of which is to produce admiration of military achievements, a complacency in heathenism, and a set of common-place notions and prejudices which afterwards stand in the way of more liberal sentiments? Few persons, however, comparatively, pursue the study of history after their school-boy days; hence it arises that a few popular works, notorious for their inaccuracy or gross partiality and faithlessness, maintain so strong a hold of the public mind as to give shape and laws to polite opinion, and even to bias legislation.

'Every observing mind,' Professor Vaughan remarks, 'must be constrained to admit, that nothing is more common than that all the respect due even to the highly educated, should be required by persons knowing little more of the real history of human nature or of society, than the fragments of an ordinary

'school-book would have taught them.' And one serious consequence of this defective and superficial acquaintance with the records of human experience, is strikingly pointed out.

' History is the school of politics; without it men may become theorists, with it only may they become wise. History places before us the great, the complex experiment that has been in course of trial upon human nature for now some six thousand years; and the system of policy which is not founded on a careful estimate of the results of this experiment, may prove an ignis fatuus to the vulgar, but will never become the pole-star of the enlightened. Man in the same circumstances is ever, in effect, the same being; and if truly known as he performs his part in history, he will not often take us by surprise in The nations of the earth have always consisted of the greater and the less, the civilized and the barbarous, the bond and the free; they have always supplied their factions and their demagogues, their arts of diplomacy and their court intrigues; and by knowing what has happened in these respects, we learn in substance what is happening still. The wonder so often expressed on witnessing the extravagancies of sects in religion, and of parties in the state, is the natural expression of historical ignorance; and the ill-advised attempts to counteract such evils, which are often made, are the equally natural effects of the same cause. Here, pre-eminently, knowledge is power. The man who would govern men, or who would even benefit them in any large measure, must study them, and this not only as they live around him, but as they have lived over a much wider surface.

'In our own day, agitated by new feelings, and teeming with experiments, an enlarged attention to the lessons of history is of the last importance. Nearly every thing we deem new has, in fact, been already weighed in the balance of experience. There is hardly a question that may become a matter of debate either in the assemblies of our rulersor in the homes of our people, on which history is not prepared to shed a light at once true and prophetic. And that we may become, in our measure, the benefactors of our country and of man, are we not bound to secure the guidance of such lights to the full extent of our means? The victims of selfishness and prejudice will avail themselves of the past for their purposes, and unless appealed to with equal frequency and intelligence by a better class, patriotism, humanity,—all conceivable interests must be hazarded. Our periodical literature, and our daily journals, abound with references to historical questions, on which, from the too general neglect of appropriate reading, or from the injudicious method in which it is conducted, the majority are incapable of judging, and liable to injurious imposition.' pp. 41-43.

These remarks apply more especially to the study of political history. But it is not less important that the moral use of history should be taught, as unfolding 'the ways of God to men.' Man is the great subject of history,' it is justly remarked in this valuable introductory lecture; 'and religion, in nearly every 'age and nation, has been a master element in the development of man.'

"We find it every where mixing itself with his wisdom and his folly, his good and evil ... In every view, the prevailing systems occupy a large space in the history of human nature; and while they have been, in great part, the mere product and reflection of certain conditions of society, they have always been in a course of re-action on the circumstances and character of their votaries. It is not possible, therefore, that history should be treated philosophically,-that is, justly, satisfactorily, agreeably to common sense, unless made to include an intelligent and candid analysis of the religions of mankind. This necessity is particularly manifest where the influence of religion has been strongly marked. What kind of story, for example, would the history of the Jews be, the Jewish religion being excluded; or that of Europe during the middle age, the Christian religion being excluded; or that of the Mohammedan conquests, the Mohammedan religion being excluded; or that of the great Asiatic nations for the last four thousand years, the many and mighty forms of their philosophical theology being excluded! There can be no disciplined thought in us if the bare mention of such a disruption between effects and their causes does not at once shock all our perceptions of the just and the proper. It must be repeated, therefore, that where there is no sympathy with the general operation of religious conception and feeling, there can be no true report of these, or of their effects. of this defective temperament, the victims of a lethargic scepticism with regard to everything spiritual and invisible, are not so much parts of humanity as exceptions to it; and their labours in consequence have tended rather to obscure than to solve some of the most difficult problems involved in the history of our race.' pp. 19-20.

If this view of history be just*, to how great an extent does it require to be re-written! But, this being at present impracticable, how important and responsible a function is that of the teacher to whom is entrusted the exposition of the obscure and faulty text of the historian. Professor Vaughan has shewn how well qualified he is to sustain this office, by the enlarged and profound view he has taken of its requisites and duties. 'What is 'wanting in this department,' he says, 'is, I conceive, a course of instruction that may lead to a sound habit of criticism in regard to historical testimony; to a wise discrimination as to the 'value of historical facts; and to such a classification of these as may render them immediately illustrative of what is most important to be known in relation to the people with whose circumstances they are connected.' In the following paragraphs, the Professor explains the plan which he proposes to adopt.

'The chief end contemplated by the majority in reading history is amusement. The principal object of the student we must suppose is

^{*} There is no good history of the progress of society.' Douglas on the Advancement of Society.

instruction. Two questions, therefore, occur involved in the one inquiry immediately before us;—first, what are the matters of instruction for the sake of which history should be studied; and, secondly, what is the mode in which this instruction may be best and most readily conveyed? There are a few points, under one or the other of which nearly all the matters may be classed, which make history of importance in the esteem of persons whose object is improvement. The first of these embrace legislation and government; the second, commerce, science, and art; the third, literature; the fourth, religion; and the last, national character, including manners and customs. The value of history must every where depend on its being viewed in re-

lation to one or more of these points.'

'If history be prosecuted as a study, and on the principle of analysis to which reference has been made, a broad outline, which should exhibit leading facts, and indicate the character of the events which may belong to a period rather than their number, would suffice for every purpose that a teacher of history could well propose. My plan, accordingly, when entering upon an epoch, will be, in the first place, to present an outline of this description, and then to retrace the ground over which we have rapidly passed, for the purpose of connecting its several classes of facts with the particular departments of knowledge which they serve especially to illustrate, and to which on our general principle they most properly belong; and it will be my endeavour to give to each of these separate sections as much completeness in itself as possible. From this method of teaching, much useful information may be derived, with very moderate effort; a comparatively small space being sufficient to bring out the lessons of history with regard to those great questions which make the study of it important. The object of chief interest with one, may be legislation and government; with another, commerce, science, or the arts; with a third, literature; with a fourth, religion; and, with some, national character and usage. When directing attention to the greater com-munities of mankind, whether in remote or more recent times, it will be my endeavour to produce authenticated and luminous views of their condition, with respect to all these great features in historical por-traiture. It is manifestly impossible that I should do any tolerable justice to so comprehensive a subject as Universal History, unless an attempt be made to separate it into parts, in some such manner as now announced. But thus viewed, the wide chaos begins to show itself susceptible of order; and a way is seen through what would otherwise appear a pathless wilderness, or an interminable forest."

pp. 23-26.

Professor Vaughan proposes to divide his lectures into the following courses: I. Ancient History, embracing the period from our earliest historical notices to the fall of the Roman empire in the fifth century. II. The Mohammedan religion, conquests, and civilization, from the Birth of Mohammed to the close of the fifteenth century. III. The State of Society in Europe during the same period. IV. Modern History, first period: from the

age of Charles the Fifth to the accession of Louis XIV. V. Second period, from the accession of Louis XIV. to the beginning of the French Revolution. VI. From the French Revolution to the present day. To designate each of these periods by one significant word, we may thus characterize them: -Paganism; Mohammedism; Feudalism; Protestantism; Despotism; - and how shall we describe an era from which, though ushered in by convulsions and portents, posterity, it is to be hoped, will date the political regeneration of society by the humanising influence of those better principles which can alone give permanence to civil and religious liberty? Professor Vaughan may seem to have undertaken an herculean task; but few men have shewn themselves better qualified by patience of investigation, well directed industry, philosophical candour, and an uncompromising love of truth, to fill up the outline in a manner that shall stamp a high value upon the course of instruction to which he invites the stu-We cordially wish him success in his endeavour to promote that 'intellectual reform' in education, which shall 'assign 'to History its due prominence in the class of liberal studies.'

Art. VI. Conversational Exercises on the Gospels, in 2 Vols. 18mo, pp. 194, 205. London, 1834.

THE author or authoress of this valuable little book (for we rather suspect it to be the production of a feminine pen) has fallen into an error of which critics have not generally much reason to complain,—that of underrating her own production. It is certainly adapted to a class of students far in advance of those for whom, if we were to judge by its unpretending title, it is in-The work is, in fact, a Bible-class manual, from the study of which intelligent young persons might derive great advantage. As the title indicates, it is a series of Questions and Answers on the Gospels; and as it was originally written with a view to assist two classes meeting weekly for improvement in Scriptural knowledge, so it now appears in print in the hope that it may encourage and aid those who may have influence and leisure enough to pursue similar labours of love. The Harmony on which the questions are framed, corresponds to the arrangement of Townsend, and embraces every one of his sections, although, in some instances, two have been blended into one. we have been able to examine the book, we can venture to propounce its execution highly creditable to the research and judgement of the writer. The questions are for the most part plain and practical, and the answers seem to have been supplied or suggested by Scott, Doddridge, or Henry. We shall, however, be most likely to do justice to the book, and at the same time give our readers a more correct impression of its character than any description will supply, by presenting a brief section from each volume. The first is from Vol. I. 'The Questions.'

SECTION XXXV.

'CHRIST DINES WITH MATTHEW.

Matt. ix. 10-18. Mark ii. 15-23. Luke v. 29 to the end.

'564. (Matt. ix. 12.) Were there any spiritually whole among the attendants of our Lord?

565. (13.) From what part of the Old Testament are these words taken, "I will have mercy," &c., and what is their meaning?

566. (Luke v. 33.) Were the disciples of John wrong in fasting like the Pharisees?

567. (34.) Is there any reference here to any thing John had said respecting our Saviour?

568. (35.) What is meant by the bridegroom being taken away?
569. (37.) Is it the case that new wine is likely to burst old

bottles?
570. (36-38.) What was the instruction our Lord would convey as relating to his gospel?

571. Was the uniting the ceremonies of the Mosaic dispensation with the duties of the Christian dispensation ever attempted after the time of our Lord?

572. (39.) Is then religion different from what it was under the Old Testament dispensation? Vol. I. pp. 54, 5.

The answers to the above are thus furnished in the second volume.

SECTION XXXV.

CHRIST DINES WITH MATTHEW.

'Matt. ix. 10-18. Mark ii. 15-23. Luke v. 29 to the end.

'564. (Matt. ix. 12.) No: the Pharisees were whole in their own estimation,—and this is what our Lord's words refer to.

565. (13.) No number of sacrifices, or the strictest attention to all ritual observances, could avail any thing, so long as sin was indulged, as in the case of the Pharisees. The words are from Hosea vi. 6.

566. (Luke v. 33.) John's afflicted circumstances (he was at this time in prison) no doubt led his disciples to observe frequent fasts; but they seem in great measure to have conformed to the uncommanded plausible austerities which formed the religion of the Pharisees.

567. (34.) Yes. See John iii. 29.

568. (35.) It refers to our Saviour's being taken from them by his crucifixion, and afterwards by his ascension, when they would meet with trials, which would render fasting seasonable.

569. (37.) The text refers to leathern bottles, which would burst

through the fermenting of the wine.

570. (36-38.) That there could be no coalition between the old 3 o 2

and new dispensations, or rather between the religion of the Pharisees and that of Jesus.

571. Yes: it was the grand fault of the Judaizing teachers of Christianity, against whom St. Paul so zealously contended, especially

in his epistle to the Galatians.

572. (39.) The substantials of religion have been the same from the first revelation of mercy to man; and those who have enjoyed the substantials of religion will ever deem repentance, faith, and holiness, preferable to the peculiarities of any party. Vol. II. p. 66.

It is needless to add any observations of our own on the importance of Bible instruction. We hope to see classes of this kind multiplied amongst us. The diffusion of Scriptural knowledge is the safety of the Church. It is ignorance,—a limited and partial acquaintance with Divine Truth, that is the fruitful parent both of Antinomianism and every other form of fanatical extravagance. The only safeguard against these pestilent errors is to be found in an enlarged and intelligent course of scriptural study. Entertaining these views, we do not hesitate to pronounce every publication calculated to promote such a "search" of Holy Writ, a blessing to the Church; and we cordially wish that the little volumes before us may have an extensive circulation.

- Art. VII. 1. Dissent unscriptural and unjustifiable, demonstrated in an Examination of Dr. John Pye Smith's Sermon and Appendix, entitled, The Necessity of Religion to the Well-being of a Nation, &c. In a Letter addressed to their Author. By Samuel Lee, D.D. Prebendary of Bristol, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.—8vo, pp. 88. Cambridge, 1834.
- 2. Some Remarks on the Dean of Peterborough's Tract, entitled, "Thoughts on the Admission of Persons, without regard to their religious Opinions, to certain Degrees in the Universities of England." By Samuel Lee, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c. &c. 8vo, pp. 24. Cambridge, 1834.

Professor Lee should stand forward as the champion, in the second, as the opponent of illiberal opinions. If, in the latter character, he has displayed more of his native good sense, and in the former, more of the prejudices of which prebendal stalls are the appropriate nests and nurseries, we are bound to admit that in both pamphlets we recognize the amiable character of the learned Writer, whose chief fault is an ardent temperament that sometimes leads him to blunder, not through ignorance, but through rashness, and to mistake opinion for demonstration.

Dissent 'demonstrated' to be 'unscriptural and unjustifiable'!

This is language savouring of self-complacency, more than of candour or the modesty of wisdom. And the vagueness of the expressions correspond to the flippancy of the assertion. What is Dissent? Protestantism is no more than Dissent from Romanism. Episcopalianism, on the other side of the Tweed, is Dissent from the Established Church. Is then all Dissent unjustifiable? If not, under what circumstances, and on what grounds, does it To this natural inquiry, no answer can be extracted from the Professor's pamphlet. In a note, he anticipates that it may be urged, on his principles the Reformers could not have split with the Church of Rome. His answer is that most convenient and convincing of all demonstrations,—a bare, flat denial. 'I deny this', he says. 'I deny, that the Church of Rome, as 'it is called, ever possessed any real authority in these realms; 'and I shall maintain that Episcopacy was set up in this island 'long before Austin the monk came into it.' And can the learned Professor impose this upon himself as coherent reasoning? Does he imagine that his denying an historical fact, and maintaining a Welsh fable, can have the slightest effect as argument? The question relates to principles, not to points of antiquarianism. Even if Episcopacy were older than the Roman domination in this country, on what ground would the Professor excuse the schism of Luther? The Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, France, and England, dissented, on the same grounds, from the Church of Rome, as a corrupt Church; and they resisted the authority of the civil powers, by which it was established and upheld. Every where but in England, the Protestants shook off the yoke of diocesan Episcopacy. Whether they judged rightly or not in renouncing that form of polity, is immaterial to the ar-The question is, were they justified in their Protestant gument. Dissent? Upon Professor Lee's principles, they were in the If he thinks otherwise, let him shew, if he can, upon what principle of Scripture or common sense, their Protestantism was defensible, while Dissent from the State-church of these realms is unjustifiable. His reply is no better than a subterfuge. If Protestantism consisted in simply abjuring the supremacy of the pope, or, in other words, the authority of the Court of Rome, its martyrs were but the victims of a political quarrel, and died for a mere point of precedency. The Church of Rome in England was the only Church established in England which had any real authority; and by that legal authority in Church and State, Cobham, and Latimer, and Hooper, were adjudged to the stake. By the same authority, under the lay popedom of the Defenders of the Faith, Bunyan, and Baxter, and the fathers of the Nonconformist Reformation, were consigned to bonds and imprisonment. Professor Lee, throughout his pamphlet, confuses and mixes up the subordinate and accidental controversy relating to the form of Church government, with the distinct and fundamental question relating to State authority in religion, and involving the principle of religious liberty. This is a common mistake, but it is one which necessarily nullifies the whole of his reasoning; and it shews how far short learned men may sometimes fall of understanding very plain things. Professor Lee knows much more about Arabic than he does about the subject

he has here ventured to write upon.

Towards the commencement of his pamphlet, indeed, the learned Writer assumes the modest language of an inquirer; and he seems to complain of Dr. Smith, because he did not bring forward, in his Sermon, all the best arguments which could be urged in favour of the opinion which he intimates. He therefore ventures to doubt whether such reasons are to be found! This is not paying a very high compliment to Dr. Smith's understanding or integrity, who not only expresses his conviction that a variety of reasons might be adduced, but refers to writers by whom they have been urged, and in whose works they are to be found. Has Professor Lee ever read those works? If not, his doubts imply only a very unphilosophical contempt of the proper means of satisfying his inquiries.

But we proceed to notice the objections which Dr. Lee raises against the clear and moderate statements of the learned Dis-

senter.

I want, he says, to be informed, in the first place, What the distinctions are, and What the grounds on which they can be maintained, between the religious and political character of a Christian king; between his duties as a man, and his duties as a Christian. Have you discovered any principles, by which the political movements of a Christian king may be regulated, independent of those laid down in revealed religion? Or, that his duties as a man, are in any way different from those which he is bound to follow as a Christian man?

'Again, in what way does such king stand differently situated, as to questions of conscience, in the capacity of holder of the public purse in the one hand, or of the privy purse in the other? Is not the silver and the gold the property of Almighty God in each case? And, Is he, at last, any thing more than a steward or dispenser of these? The surplus of the privy purse, you think, may be disposed of in aiding works of piety. On what principle is it, I ask, either scriptural or abstract, that every portion of the public purse is to be withheld from affording any such aid? If the public purse is supplied for the better administration of the state; and, if it be true, (as I think you have shewn it is) that religious instruction is above all things conducive and necessary to the well-being of a nation, I ask again, on What principle is it that you recommend a partial expenditure in the one case, for the furtherance of this supreme good, but in the other, forbid every such contribution? Is the responsibility of a king as an individual, and in the expenditure of what you unscripturally consider

his own, different from that of the same king as a public officer? If any difference exists, surely it must be this; that, as in his public capacity his powers are larger, the talents committed to his charge are more numerous; so must his responsibility also be greater, on the principle, that from him to whom much is given much will be required.' pp. 12—13.

This is certainly a very extraordinary passage to have been put forth by a Professor of the University of Cambridge in the nineteenth century. Here we have a learned divine unable to perceive the difference between a king's giving away his own money, and disposing of that of his subjects, and talking of the King of England as 'the holder of the public purse'!! Pretty constitutional doctrine this! Then he can see no difference between a king's private beneficence, and his compelling the contributions of his people; -no distinction between his setting a religious example to his people, and his enforcing upon them, by political sanctions, conformity to his own particular belief;—no line of demarcation between the duties of private morality and the political duties of government. None are so blind as those who will not see, and we have really too high an opinion of Dr. Lee's good sense, to imagine that his not perceiving these distinctions and the grounds of them, arises from any other cause than his not opening his eyes or not wiping his spectacles.

For the purpose simply of shewing that Dr. Smith spoke advisedly, we shall venture to transcribe a few sentences upon this subject from a volume which has been before the public almost long enough to be forgotten.

'We are told, it is the duty, as well as the right of governors, to make laws of this nature concerning religion,—to make their religion the religion of the State. "They must do so, if they regard the temporal good of their subjects." Assuredly, if it is their duty, they must have the previous right: the converse of the proposition is not less evident,—if they have not the requisite right, it cannot be their duty.

'In order to bring the question of duty into a tangible form, we must ascertain, first, the source of the obligation, and secondly, the specific nature of the duty.

'The duty of regarding the temporal good of his subjects, should seem to be a natural duty binding upon every ruler arising out of the laws of moral obligation. But the duty of adopting any specific means of providing for this object, must very much depend, one would imagine, upon the legitimacy and wisdom of the expedient. The plan proposed, is, that of making certain 'laws concerning religion." But whence arises the obligation of making these laws? Is it a general obligation extending alike to all princes and governors, or one that is binding only upon Christian rulers, as the consequence of their

' having acquired more enlarged notions of religious duty? The ' latter branch of the alternative is seemingly maintained by those "who lay the stress upon its being "the true religion" which "the SUPREME POWER has a right to establish by positive in-'stitutions." The esteemed ecclesiastical historian already re-'ferred to, after having stated in his chapter upon Establish-"ments, that "it is not possible to construct a government that 'shall preserve order and decorum, without some religious esta-' blishment," takes notice of an objection to his hypothesis, which 'he owns to be, on its first proposal, rather startling. "Suppose ' the Civil Magistrate should happen to have formed an erroncous ' judgement concerning the true religion: will he not, in that ' case, according to the principle of general expediency, be justi-'fied in establishing a false one?" To this query, the Dean 'scruples not to give a decisive negative: "Nothing can justify 'the magistrate in establishing a false religion." He waves the ' consideration of such countries as have never heard of Jesus ' Christ and his Gospel, founding his assertion on the fulness and ' clearness of the evidences of Christianity, the rejection of which ' must betray, he argues, great wickedness of heart. This ex-' ception, however, can avail nothing as a qualification of the ge-' neral position which he has laid down, that a government cannot ' preserve good order and decorum without some religious esta-'blishment. For either Pagan and Mahommedan establishments ' are necessary and conducive to good government in those coun-' tries which have never heard of Jesus Christ, or they are not. 'If they are necessary, the Supreme Magistrate in those coun-' tries must be considered, on this writer's hypothesis, as justified 'in establishing his religion, although a false one. If they are 'not necessary, then it is possible to construct a government ' that shall preserve order and decorum without some kind of re-'ligious establishment. There is no way of escaping from this 'dilemma, but by denying the magistrate's right to preserve ' order and decorum in those countries, until he shall have been ' converted to Christianity.

'But how stands the case as to countries where Christianity has not been rejected, yet where the Civil Magistrate does not happen to have formed a very correct notion respecting the nature of the true religion? Is the Roman Catholic religion a true religion, or is it a false one? If it be considered in the former light, then, "the supreme power has," on the principle contended for, "a right to establish it by positive institutions, and to ensure public respect to those institutions by penal laws!" It is the duty of Roman Catholic governors to establish it,—their duty because it is the true religion. Yet, how it can be right for the king of Spain to establish Popery, and for the king of England to establish Protestantism, it would be

difficult satisfactorily to explain. If, however, the Roman Catholic religion is admitted to be a false religion, and its establishment is contemplated in its just light, as a portentous evil, we are then reduced to this most philosophical conclusion: that the Protestant religion being the only true one, Protestant rulers have the exclusive prerogative, and are exclusively under the obligation, of establishing their own religion as the religion of the State!

We do not ask by what infallible guidance the rulers of a ' Protestant country have ascertained the fact, that their religion ' is the true one, because we are ready to concede that this is its ' real character; but still, although Protestants, there is room for ' their happening not to form a right, that is to say, a Scriptural ' judgement concerning the religion which they profess. Can ' their duty be suspended on an antecedent condition of so doubt-'ful a nature, as the rectitude of the human judgement? If 'not, what is its basis? It is not an obligation which originates 'in the natural relations of society, since, as we have seen, it does not apply to all who stand in the same relation of rulers to the governed. Is it a revealed duty? The New Testament contains no direction or command on which it can be founded. 'The sacred writers abstain altogether from discussions relating ' to the politics of States, every where teaching us, that the king-'dom of Christ "is not of this world."

'One only ground remains upon which this obligation on the 'Magistrate can be supposed to rest, namely, that of expediency. But this leads us to inquire more particularly wherein the duty specifically consists.—" The supreme power has a right," it is 'said, "to establish the true religion by positive institutions." 'But a religion may be established, by legal protection and by endowments, to the extent that the Protestant Dissenters of this kingdom are now established, without the erection of an exclusive ecclesiastical incorporation, similar to the English hierarchy. 'The religious instruction of a people may be provided for by other means than those which limit the right of instruction to a particular class, under conditions which ultimately throw the appointment of religious teachers into the hands of the proprietors of the soil. There are many ways in which a Christian ruler who has formed a right judgement concerning the true religion, may promote the moral and religious interests of his subjects, in the discharge of his public functions, as well as in his private character, besides that of " making his religion the religion of the State." That it is his duty to do his utmost both to protect and to promote the true religion, cannot be questioned. But to argue, that he must therefore institute and support an ecclesiastical establishment, and not only so, but proceed to "restrain and punish the propagators of" what he deems ir-

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' religious opinions," is taking it for granted, that the true reli-' gion is capable of being promoted by these methods, and that ' these, as both legitimate and effectual methods, fall within the 'line of his public duty; neither of which positions is tenable. 'The late Rev. Thos. Scott, in his Letters to the Rev. Peter 'Roe, has discovered a singular candour in treating the delicate ' subject of a ruler's duty, in reference to the establishment of 'Christianity. He owns that were a man of affluence, under the ' pretence of improving his talent, (which he considers to be the principle by which a Christian prince should be actuated,) to "claim the right, or consider himself bound in duty, by all which money can do, to bring others over to profess his creed, or conform to his mode of worship; because he thinks the one ' true, and the other right; he might probably please bigots of ' his own party, and make hypocrites, but he would not promote 'the genuine interests of Christianity." The "using of either 'wealth or power, to enforce compliance" with particular views ' of Christianity, he justly deprecates: these are to be employed only "to provide, as far as they can by Scriptural means, for the religious instruction of mankind at large." "Now, whether 'an establishment of some kind," he adds, "might not be the ' best method in which a king or a ruler could improve his talent, ' may be a question:" only, "the negative cannot," in his opi-' nion, "be considered as self-evident."

'This point is readily granted: and to all that can be adduced for the purpose of shewing the importance of religion in its bearings upon the temporal welfare of the community, and the interests of the State, no Dissenter will hesitate to subscribe. Christianity, it will be as readily admitted, is the only true religion, which alone it can be our duty to promote. But "a religious establishment is," as Dr. Paley remarks, "no part of Christianity; it is only the means of inculcating it." Into the efficiency and expediency of this means, the whole question

' mainly resolves itself.'*

But Dr. Lee may not like this way of putting the matter, better than Dr. Smith's 'objectionable method of stating the question.' He may still 'contend, that the civil authority is bound, by every means placed within its power—not to force—not to 'allure into a feigned compliance,—but actually to teach, to 'countenance, to support, to encourage, and to defend.' To this we reply, that it is not the province of the Civil Magistrate to teach; but it is his province, and he is bound, to defend, not religion, but religious men, and to countenance the ministers and teachers of religion, but not to support them; for they are to be supported, according to Christ's law, by those whom they teach.

^{*} Conder on Protestant Nonconformity, B. IV.

If, indeed, the Civil Magistrate ought not to force nor to allure into a feigned compliance, it is clear that he ought not to employ either the authority or the revenues of the State in compelling men to support an order of teachers, or in bribing men to a political conformity; and what is this but saying that the State establishment of a sect is contrary to the principles which ought to govern the Civil Magistrate? the very point we contend for.

The puerile character of some of the Professor's reasonings is truly surprising coming from such a quarter. For example:-' If I am to take it as a principle, that the infidel is not to be ' taxed against his will, can I, upon the same principle, tax the thief, the robber, the murderer, against his consent, for the purpose of building prisons for his confinement, &c.' Our learned polemic might as reasonably have asked: "If I may not compel the infidel to go to church, and take the Sacrament against his will, can I compel the robber to go to prison without his consent?" The question is, whether the support of the Gospel ministry is a legitimate object for which a compulsory tax ought to be levied upon any. But 'do not Non-conformist ministers in ' certain parts of Ireland actually receive the pay of the State?' They do so, and we hope that the tithe and the regium donum will be abolished together. Dr. Lee declares that he 'never heard of any objection made against this, either by them or by 'any other Non-conformist whatsoever.' This only shews that he knows very little of what is passing around him, and that he does not even read the Eclectic Review! The greater the pity.

Dr. Smith has, in his Sermon, pointed out the various ways in which a pious monarch may advance the cause of religion without endowing one Christian sect at the expense of every other, or shewing an unjust preference in the administration of government. Will it be credited, that the following is seriously pro-

pounded as a refutation of the Dr.'s just remarks?

- And Hezekiah, it is added, "spake comfortably unto all the Levites that taught the good knowledge of the Lord," &c. Pray, my dear sir, would you not term this last an instance of personal preference? We are not told, that the king spake comfortably to those who laughed his messengers to scorn. He, probably did, therefore, shew some preference, which I cannot consider wrong, although you may condemn it as personal."

Ergo, ecclesiastical establishments are scriptural and right, being comfortable things: q. e. d. How admirably this argument would tell in the House of Commons, against those who are disposed to lay sacrilegious hands on the Irish tithes! How clear is it that good Hezekiah acted in the very spirit of the Protestant ascendancy policy! But what did he do to those who laughed to scorn his messengers? They were of course put to death, were they not? Yet the fact is not on record.

Professor Lee insists much on the conduct of the Jewish monarchs as furnishing a model for the imitation of the kings of Great Britain; more especially in one particular.

'He (Hezekiah) next assembles the Priests and Levites, and gravely impresses upon them their duty and the necessity of reform. To this they attend, and act accordingly. Here, then, the priests do not reform the king; but the king, the priests.'

There can be no doubt that Hezekiah acted very wisely—and not unconstitutionally. He knew that it was of no use waiting till the priests began the reform. And we should rejoice to see his example followed at the present moment. Let the King call together the Bishops, and gravely impress on their minds the necessity of church reform, and they will then, perhaps, act accordingly. We are quite sure that when church reform comes, it will originate, not with the priests who shall have reformed the king,

but with the king who must reform the priests.

Assuredly, the conduct of many of the Jewish monarchs was most deserving of imitation; but before an argument in favour of ecclesiastical establishments can be drawn from their proceedings, it must be shewn, that the corruption of religion did not result from the very interference which they exercised. state religion of the kingdom of Israel was clearly idolatrous as well as schismatical; and the worship of Baal was, under several of the kings, the established religion of Judah also. ciple of religious establishments is the same, whether the priests be those of Baal or of Jehovah; and the results of the general adoption of the principle have in every age been the same. may suit the purpose of the advocates of the Church and State system to confound the theocrasy with the Jewish monarchy superinduced upon the original constitution of the people of Israel; but the political principles of the two systems of government were, in fact, materially different; and by the substitution of legal, for moral sanctions in matters of religion, a change was made, which proved any thing but favourable to the maintenance of the true religion.

This is a point of view in which we do not recollect to have seen the question placed; but we must resist the temptation to pursue the subject, and hasten to notice a few other strange positions in this strange pamphlet. At page 59, we meet with the startling and most erroneous assertion, that to the bishops of the church—to diocesan bishops of course—we owe 'probably the 'preservation of the Scriptures of the New Testament from 'corruption, and certainly the only means of determining what 'is canonically authorative, and what is not so.' Does Professor Lee really mean to concede to the Romanist the necessity of tradition to determine what is Scripture? He proceeds to assert with similar rashness, and in utter contempt of historical verity, that 'a period has never yet arrived in the

'Church of Christ, in which its greatest ornaments and best defenders were not to be found among its bishops.' If he means by bishops, the pastors of Christian churches, using the term in its genuine scriptural sense, this affirmation might be supported; but if the prelates of a state hierarchy be intended, we cannot conceive of an assertion more irreconcileable with notorious fact.

The following remarks, however, we transcribe with pleasure, as we entirely agree with the learned writer in every word, and wonder only how they came to be introduced into a pamphlet to

the whole strain of which they are in direct opposition.

'I think I may now say, that, according to the Scriptures, the Church of God ought to be united, to be perfectly joined together, having the same mind, the same judgment, and speaking the same words; and that there ought to be no divisions, (or schisms); no: not under the authoritative names of Paul, Cephas, Apollos, or even Christ: and that ministers, in particular, ought to be God's fellow-labourers. Of course I mean here, that all such do hold the Head, Christ Jesus, and join most cordially in the inculcation of those doctrines which are peculiar to the Gospel: viz. of the Deity of Christ, of the Trinity in Unity, of justification by faith, and of all those others which the reformed Church has deemed essential and necessary to salvation.

Now, I must affirm, that every opinion and doctrine setting forth that any thing, no matter how plausible or how wise soever it may be, or seem to be, originating only in human authority, but tending to destroy this union and communion among Believers, is directly opposed to the injunctions of Holy Scripture, and therefore sinful and dangerous in the extreme. pp. 75, 6.

Towards the close of the pamphlet, we meet with the following candid remarks.

'Again, when I call to mind the astonishing effects wrought by Wickliffe and Luther only, as individuals, on the population of Europe; when I consider what has been done by many others, acting almost singly but simply for the spread of the Gospel, and the edification of the Body of Christ; may I not come to the conclusion, that, -if the energies of such men as Dr. Adam Clarke, Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Samuel Drew, Dr. John Pye Smith, and many others whom I might name, had been superadded to those of our Hebers, and others who have adorned, and do now adorn, the Establishment,-our light as a Christian nation would have shone far more brightly, more clearly, more warmly, more steadily, and more extensively, than it now does? And, Would the labours of these non-conformists (great and good as they are) have been in any way tarnished, or made less efficient, by the connexion? My belief is, they would have commanded a much greater range in operation; and, from the leisure, opportunities, and encouragement, which our Institutions would have afforded, they would not have been less, but more, perfect in their kind.' pp. 85, 6. Can there be a more severe condemnation passed upon the Church and State system, than is conveyed in this paragraph? Such are the men whom Episcopacy proscribes, and the Establishment degrades! In a postscript, Dr. Lee represents the Dissenters as 'combining for the purpose of compelling others to 'adopt that system of Church government which they deem to 'be the best and most convenient.' As we are persuaded that he would not intentionally misrepresent, though we cannot account for his gross misapprehension in this matter, we shall content ourselves with assuring him, that for this statement, there

is not the slightest foundation in fact.

After these specimens of the learned Writer's opinions, the reader may well be surprised to find him coming forward to expose the chimerical nature of Dean Turton's fears as to the awful consequences of admitting Dissenters to graduate at the Universities. The evidence upon which the Dean of Peterborough rests his main position is, strange to say, the case of Dr. Doddridge's Academy!! To the laxness in the terms of admission to that private academy, and to the faulty system of lecturing as rendered necessary by that laxness, he attributes the heterodoxy which was in too many cases the result. We are happy to find the Dean's argument so completely demolished by the learned Prebendary, who shews himself a liberal man at bottom.

'It certainly has been the practice here, for some years past, to admit either Dissenters or Roman Catholics, provided their moral character and circumstances in life were such as to be unobjectionable. No difficulty has hitherto, so far as I know, been felt from the circumstance; nor any from the variety of opinions entertained among the young men so admitted. The result generally has been, that most of the dissenting young men have conformed to the established Church, and left the University in a state of mind evincing, that they had become its zealous and staunch friends. I do not think, therefore, that much stress can be fairly laid on the question relating to admission: and I am further of opinion, that the Dean would have laid no such stress upon it, had not his fears forced upon him considerations, to which his reasoning could afford no aid.

'My next objection is: The conclusions alluded to have been drawn from an assumption, that from a similar laxness of admission allowed at our Universities, similar consequences must of course follow. This assumption is, I think, not only groundless, but involves an event the most unlikely imaginable ever to take place. The Bill against which the Dean's objections are principally directed, providing that persons shall be allowed to matriculate at the Universities without regard to religious tests, enacts nothing, as far as I can see, that must necessarily introduce the perilous mode of lecturing set up by Dr. Doddridge. I can find no clause whatever in this Bill, enjoining that theological lectures shall be given at all, much less such as shall have dogmatical divinity

exclusively for their object. How then, I ask, can it be maintained, that to adopt such a bill will necessarily set on foot an evil so great, as that against which the Dean feels bound to contend? 'pp. 8, 9.

'I am quite at a loss to discover what could have suggested to the Dean, that dogmatical divinity was thus to be taken up and driven in the Universities, as a necessary consequence of passing this Bill: or, how he ever could have supposed, that the simple admission of Dissenters (a thing which has gone on here for years) could, under its operation, be productive of all these terrific results. But, as no arguments have been offered for their support, I have no other means of meeting them than by saying, that what their value may be as pre-

dictions I must leave others to judge.' p. 10.

' It is further assumed, that the studies which are now so sedulously, so harmoniously, and so successfully pursued, will be broken in upon and disturbed. "Among the younger students of the Universities," says the Dean, "as at present constituted, every thing wears the aspect of tranquillity. They have nothing to unsettle their minds. They are -taking them as a body-assiduously pursuing their studies, and qualifying themselves for the stations for which they are designed, &c." (p. 22.) I am sorry to say, I have strong objections to urge against this statement. It is well known, I believe, that a majority of the young men who marticulate at the Universities, do this with the view of entering the Church. These, according to this statement, " are assiduously pursuing their studies, and qualifying themselves for the station for which they are designed." Now, I would ask the Dean-Of the large number of young men here preparing for the Church, How many, to his certain knowledge, are pursuing those studies which are to qualify them for this station? Does he know so much as one individual assiduously pursuing such a course? Does he know any College, Head of house, Tutor, Professor, Examiner, or the like, either pointing out, or calling for, any such line of study as his arguments require, or as this his statement lays down? And further, is he not aware, that a very large proportion of the young men, and those in particular who are intended for the Church, are actually spending the far greater part of their time in idleness, if not in the acquirement of habits which must be an injury both to themselves and to society in That all this goes on tranquilly, is surely no recommendaafter life? It appears to me to be very much of a piece with that tion to it. flattering unction which, when once laid to the soul, has no better effect than that of filming over the ulcerous place, and of suffering rank corruption to carry on its infections unseen.

'It may also be collected, I think, from the Dean's own statements, that no such course of theological study is engaged in, as his reasonings and statements require. For, at p. 27 he tells us, that "It would indeed be a subject of the deepest regret to" him "to find the attention, which is now so profitably directed to learning and science, in any degree engaged by polemical divinity." He adds, "I cannot but consider learning and science not as ends, but as means—the means of strengthening the minds, and informing the understandings, of those who will shortly be required to undertake the duties which respectively await them in Church and State." And again, p. 28:

"With regard to free inquiry, on the most momentous questions that can occupy our thoughts, it is, I trust, almost unnecessary to say, that I am favourable to it, at the proper season of life, &c." It seems evident from this, that the Dean not only concedes the point, that no professional theological studies are pursued at all by the young men here, but also that he does not believe it desirable they should be. He rather thinks, that they should be deferred until classical and mathematical learning shall have fitted the mind to receive them —Let this be granted, and then let it be asked, What can there possibly be to fear from the operation of a Bill, which goes hand in hand with such a state of things, and asks for no such studies? And, How can any one reasonably object to that, which, supposing such studies were really pursued, expressly provides that they shall not be interfered with.

'I must notice one fallacy more, by which, as it appears to me, the worthy Dean has unwarily suffered himself to be imposed upon. Dr. Turton, arguing from the case of the Daventry Academy, necessarily takes for granted, that the numbers to be introduced by this Bill will be so large, as first, to make a very sensible impression on all the other young men sent to the Universities; and then, secondly, to form a large and permanent phalanx, for ever to be encountered. "But when persons," says he, (p. 26) "act together, and receive constant accessions in point of numbers, they become virtually a body corporate; and their power of doing mischief is, like property held in mortmain, for ever."

Now I will only ask, If Dissenters and others, to be admitted under this Bill, are so numerous throughout the upper and middle ranks of society, as thus to inundate our Universities, is it likely that the Established Church can stand one hour before them? The Dean by no means believes this; for he says, (p. 23) "The higher and middle classes of society, in this country, are yet sound at the heart. "They reverence," add. he, "the law of God, and are conscientiously attached to the national Church." Whence then, I ask, are we to expect that swarm of Dissenters, &c. which, like so many locusts, are to overwhelm our Universities? The truth seems to be, the Dean has suffered himself to be so wrought upon, perhaps by his fears, that he is occasionally carried away, far beyond the limits prescribed by his own statements." pp. 12—15.

We are sorry for Dr. Turton. He, too, is a learned and good nan, but he does not appear to advantage in this instance.

Art. VIII.—Horæ Otiosæ; or, Thoughts, Maxims, and Opinions. 12mo. pp. 246. Price 6s. London, 1833.

THERE are in this volume, marks of original thought and materials for thinking; but we should find almost as much to controvert as to applaud. The Author correctly anticipates that, of the ideas introduced, some will be thought not sufficiently developed, and others incorrect or problematical. The work

consists of a string of aphorisms after the manner of Lord Bacon; but it is rather a daring attempt, to imitate that great legislator of the intellectual world. Still, we are pleased to meet with the genuine results of meditation, whether that meditation be more or less profound and philosophical; and in proof that from these Thoughts some wisdom may be gleaned, we shall take a few that have pleased us, without comment.

'In the earlier stages of Christian experience, the mind is perhaps more influenced by religious principles, as embodied in particular individuals, than by those principles in the abstract. Afterwards, when the views and character are more ripened, principles themselves assume a greater weight, and individuals are less regarded.

'Though no motives deducible from human merit can be supposed to influence God in election, it does not follow that he is not governed by reasons in the choice of some, rather than of others. Doubtless the divine wisdom, as well as sovereignty, regulates the selection; agreeably to the language of the Apostle, who, after mentioning the predestination of believers, refers it to "the counsel of God's will."

'The interests of religion are little subserved by nice speculations about the precise order or elements of the mental emotions, at the commencement, or during the subsequent stages, of piety.

'It is remarkable, that while no book in the world contains so striking an exposure of men's vices and follies as the Bible, no book ever speaks of them with less bitterness or contempt.' pp. 237, 8.

'The depravity of man is shown, not only by the depth to which he is fallen from God, but by his endeavours to bring down the divine character and government to the level of his own degradation.' p. 243.

The following would perhaps serve as a motto to the volume.

'Trite maxims sometimes appear invested with originality, when their correctness is first ascertained by experience.' p. 55.

There is much truth in the following remarks.

'The biography of almost any individual would be deeply interesting, if it fell into competent hands. The question is not so much, Who is the subject? as, What are the qualifications of the writer?'

p. 132.

'It is in literature as in life; the most laborious departments are often the least lucrative.' p. 135.

'Compilation is a task of far greater difficulty than the production of what is original. Yet there is no comparison between their intellectual merit, or their praise, whatever there may be as to their respective utility.' p. 137.

'Antiquity seems the more wise, because its follies have not de-

scended to us. Inferior minds and productions abound in every period, but die their natural death. The present generation would no doubt appear very distinguished, if only the best works of the age were to reach posterity.' p. 136.

Art. IX. Memoirs of Rowland Taylor, LL.D. Archdeacon of Exeter, Rector of Hadleigh, &c. Comprising an Account of the Rise of the Reformation in Norfolk and Suffolk. By Thomas Quinton Stow. 12mo, pp. xi. 343. London, 1833.

RISHOP Heber has remarked, that there is nothing more beautiful in the whole beautiful Book of Martyrs, than the account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in the discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous moments when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. 'As a pastor,' Mr. Stow observes, 'no one appears to ' have been so completely the favourite of the Martyrologist as 'Taylor. His character in that relation appears to have struck 'him as the beau idéal of a Christian minister.' This admirable man was born at Rothbery, on the Scottish border, towards the close of the fifteenth century. The same vicinity gave birth to the great Bishop Ridley, and to their common friend Dr. W. Turner, 'the father of Puritanism.' He studied at Cambridge, and while there, the preaching of Latimer appears to have led him cordially to embrace the doctrines of the Reformed Faith. He became Principal of Borden Hostle (or Hall), and LL.D., in both civil and canon law. The first scene of his evangelical labours appears to have been laid in Cornwall, where he appears to have had the official superintendence of several monastic establishments. On the suppression of the monasteries, he obtained a pension in remuneration, and appears to have removed to London, where he married, and was appointed domestic chaplain at Lambeth Palace. Strype says that Cranmer 'made use ' of him in his affairs;' and he was employed by him more especially in diffusing the principles of the Reformation in Kent, within the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury. In the year 1544, Dr. Taylor was presented to the living of Hadleigh, in Suffolk; and Fox gives him great credit for disinterestedness in denying himself the gratification of a residence in Lambeth, for the unostentatious duties of a country pastorate. Repps, the Popish diocesan of Norwich, disliking the measures of Edward VI. and the Reformers, resigned his bishopric; and its spiritualities were committed by Archishop Cranmer to Dr. Rowland Taylor and Dr. William Wakefield. These delegated powers placed the Reformer in a new and important relation to the two favoured counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and from this

time, the progress of the Reformed opinions in those parts be-

comes intimately connected with his labours.

These brief biographical memoranda will serve to introduce to our readers, the interesting subject of Mr. Stow's Memoirs. The records of those times are precious, and ought not to be so much forgotten as they are. We are satiated with the diffuse and garrulous memorials of contemporary necrology; while the lives of those who were lights in darkness, the confessors and martyrs of the heroic days of the Church, are suffered to remain untold or unread. We return our best thanks to Mr. Stow for the very interesting narrative which he has here presented to us, compiled with much care and industry, from scattered and obscure materials. The volume does him great credit, and forms an acceptable accession to a class of works of which we have but too few.

No period of our history stands more in need of illustration than that which intervened between the rise and spread of Lollardism and the royal Reformation. In the counties which were the scene of Taylor's labours, traces of Lollardism are found from a very early period.

William Sawtree preached the doctrines of Wickliffe, at Lynn; and, so soon as 1399, was compelled by the command of the Bishop of Norwich, after being examined at the Manor House of South Helingham, to abjure publicly in the churches at Tinney, Lynn, and other places. The various scenes of his abjuration had all been probably the fields of his Christian labours. That this good man recovered from his frailty, we have satisfactory, though melancholy evidence. After preaching again the truths he had denied in Norfolk, he was burnt in London, the year following his unhappy recantation; and thus became the first victim to the horrid statute passed by Henry IV. for burning heretics, which hung for a century and a half with portentious glare in our ecclesiastical hemisphere, shedding terror and

death throughout the land.

'The year 1424 is memorable in the history of both the countries, by the arrival in Norfolk of William White, a man eminent for learning, eloquence, and sanctity. As far back as 1416, he had been cited on a charge of heresy, but refused to appear. In 1424, he was induced to recant before the Archbishop of Canterbury; but speedily regaining his courage, he went down the same year to Loddon, a town in Norfolk, but closely bordering on Suffolk. This step was attended with the voluntary surrender, both of his benefice and of his office as On this spot, independently of ecclesiastical authority, he gathered a numerous congregation, to whom he became the regular, laborious, and exemplary preacher and pastor. His followers studied with great diligence the New Testament, which was, of course, Wickliffe's version, and in manuscript, and called by them "The Book of the New Law." Writings of Lollardy were supplied from London, and meetings of instruction, conference, and devotion, called Schools of Lollardy, were held frequently among them. The success of this

distinguished Wickliffite was surprisingly rapid and extensive. Some laymen who adopted his sentiments, assumed also his unauthorized habits of instruction, and became active promoters of their new views. Eight or nine priests of the neighbourhood embraced his doctrines, and shared in his labours. His converts were found in thirty towns and villages, lying mostly in the contiguous parts of the two counties, and some of them as distant as Wymondham, Harlestone, Eye, Aldborough, and an unnamed village near Ipswich.' pp. 26, 27.

'It was scarcely to be expected that such scenes should long escape

the eyes of intolerance .-

'A commission was issued to apprehend and punish these humble men. Six persons were committed to the Duke of Norfolk, at Framlingham Castle. Three priests suffered death, of whom White was He was martyred at Norwich, in September 1428. His place was not despicably supplied by his zealous widow, and the more able of his followers, who continued, as well as their afflicting circumstances would permit, to instruct and cheer the affrighted flock, upon whom the wolves of persecution had broken in. The persecution continued Numbers of men and women in Norfolk and Suffolk, especially of Beccles, Earsham, and Loddon, were compelled to abjure with all the cruelties and indignities of penance. From the time of White's death one hundred and twenty persons, of both sexes, were examined and bitterly persecuted. Amidst their sufferings they appear to have comforted themselves with the full persuasion of the eventual triumph of their cause. "It is read," said one of these injured men in his depositions, "in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding, at the length, the Lollards shall prevail, and have the victory against all their enemies." pp. 28, 9,

When Lollardism had merged in the Reformation, this part of the kingdom enjoyed the apostolic labours of that 'good 'master Bilney,' the spiritual father of Latimer, Barnes, and Lambert. After him, Thomas Rose successfully laboured in the same field, and built upon the foundations so deeply and wisely laid. He was placed at Hadleigh, the very town which was subsequently to enjoy the pastoral care of Taylor.

'Of no place in Britain has Fox left so remarkable a record. "The town of Hadleigh," he writes, "was one of the first that received the word of God in England, at the preaching of Mr. Thomas Bilney [and of Mr. Thomas Rose, he ought, according to his own accounts, to have added], by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such good success, and took such root there, that a great number in that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great part of St. Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly, learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather

an university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people. And, what is most to be commended, they were, for the most part, faithful followers of God's word in their living." pp. 66, 7.

Taylor held the episcopal commission intrusted to him till the year 1550, when Thirlby was appointed to the see of Norwich. He then received a similar charge in the Diocese of Worcester. In 1552, he was made Archdeacon of Exeter, the see of which was then held by the venerable Coverdale; and the friendship between them, 'began in the episcopal palace,' was destined before long 'to be carried on in a prison.' The following year witnessed the dark eclipse of the light of the Reformation which ensued on the death of King Edward. Some time clapsed before Dr. Taylor felt the effects of his disobedience to the intolerant edicts of the sanguinary Mary. He continued to follow his usual course of public instruction, until interrupted by the malignant officiousness of two of his parishioners, who hired the Popish priest of an adjoining parish to revive mass in Hadleigh church.

'In order to accomplish their purpose, they first erected an altar, with which the Protestants of Hadleigh were so displeased, that in the night they pulled it down. Itwas rebuilt; and, lest it should be a second time demolished, a watch was provided. On the following day came the priest, attended by Clerk, Foster and others, who surrounded him armed with swords and bucklers. At the ringing of the bells, Dr. Taylor came down from his study, and, on attempting to enter the church, found the doors fast closed, except the chancel door, which was merely latched. On stepping into the church, a strange and unwelcome sight presented itself-the priest, with his 'broad, new-shaven crown,' just about to commence his idolatrous service, surrounded with armed men. "Thou devil," said the unceremonious Doctor, "who made thee so hold as to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" "Thou traitor," said Foster, starting up and boiling with fury, "what doest thou here to hinder and disturb the Queen's proceedings?" "I am no traitor," answered the venerable rector, "but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock; and I command thee, thou Popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such Popish idolatry." "Heretic," said Foster, "wilt thou traitorously make a commotion, and resist violently the Queen's proceedings?" "I make no commotion," again replied the Doctor; "but it is you Papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your Popish idolatries." Foster and his armed men ended the conference, by seizing the rector, and forcibly thrusting him out of the church.'

pp. 107—109.

Foster and Clerk followed up their opposition by writing against Dr. Taylor to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, which brought a summons, in March, 1554, for the Doctor to appear before the

Bishop, to answer the complaints. This citation was heavy news to his friends, who earnestly besought him to seek safety by flight, assuring him, that neither favour nor justice could be expected from the fierce and bloody Gardiner. To these remonstrances he replied,

"Dear friends, I most heartily thank you for your tender care of me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death, yet know I my cause to be rightcous, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing." p. III.

Soon after his arrival in London, he was cited before the brutal Gardner, who reviled him in a strain of bitter and coarse abuse. He was then conducted to the King's Bench prison, where he found Bradford, Ferrar and Philpot, whose company yielded much satisfaction to his mind. Bradford thanked God that he had sent him 'so comfortable a fellow prisoner.' On the 22nd of Jan. 1556, all the imprisoned preachers were summoned before Gardiner, and asked if they would be reconciled to the Pope. and receive the Queen's pardon, which they refused to do, and were remanded to prison, where they were more severely treated They were again brought before Gardiner, on the 30th of January, when Taylor, Bradford, and Saunders, were excommunicated and condemned. The sentence of death was then read, and they joyfully thanked God, and said to their persecutors, "We doubt not but God, the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this." On his way to prison, Dr. Taylor addressed the crowd that flocked around him, and cheerfully said. "God be praised, good people, I come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood."

On the 9th of February, the Doctor was conducted towards Hadleigh. When within two miles of the town, he alighted from his horse, and according to Fox's simple narration, gave a frisk or two, as thoug he was going to a dance. The sheriff, whose attention was excited by this proof of continued cheerfulness, said te him, 'Why, Master Doctor, how do you now?' 'Well, God be wraised, good Master Sheriff,' answered the cheerful martyr; 'never betrer; for now 1 know that I am almost at home. I lack not past two styles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house. But, Master Sheriff,' continued the Doctor, whose affectionate and pastoral feelings began to swell as he approached the scene of his happy and useful labours, 'shall we go through Hadleigh?' 'Yes,' said the Sheriff, 'you shall go through Hadleigh.' 'O, good Lord, I thank thee,' exclaimed the thankful pastor, 'I shall once, ere I die, see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Good Lord, bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth.' At the foot of Hadleigh-bridge a touching scene awaited the company.

A poor man aud his five children were kneeling upon the ground, and lifting up their hands, while the father thus addressed the Doctor, as he rode past :- 'O dear father and good shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children.' This first proof of respect and sympathy towards Dr. Taylor, surprised and perhaps alarmed the Sheriff, who harshly rebuked the poor man for his expressions of gratitude. On entering the town, the streets were found to be thronged with the people of the parish and of the surrounding villages, who were waiting to see, for the last time, their beloved pastor. As he passed along, the people wept and lamented, saying to each other, 'Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that hath so faithfully taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him and comfort him.' These, and similar expressions, bursting from all sides, drew down the sharpest rebukes from the Sheriff and his men. The Doctor contented himself with repeatedly saying, 'I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood.'

For the affecting sequel, we must refer to Mr. Stow's volume.

ART. X.-LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Major E. Moor, the Author of the Hindoo Pantheon, has just completed a highly interesting volume of Oriental Fragments, illustrated with a variety of curious plates.

Preparing for Publication, A Translation (by Miss C. Ward, an accomplished Italian scholar) of Professor Rossetti's extraordinary work, "Sullo Spirito Antipapale che produsse la Reforma," on the "Antipapal Spirit which produced the Reformation, and the Secret Influence exercised thereby on the Literature of Europe, and especially of Italy, as displayed by her classic writers, Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio," &c. &c. &c. a work which has caused a strong sensation in Italy, and been laid under the ban of the Papal Church.

A Work under the Title of "English Scenes and English Civilization—Sketches and Traits in the Nineteenth Century," will appear in the course of this Month, from the pen of a Writer who has studied the present state of society, with the most liberal and profound views towards its improvement.

It is proposed to publish by Subscription, a Work to be entitled, "The Classic and Connoiseur in Italy and Sicily," in which will be condensed the best Observations of the more distinguished Tourists through those Countries. With (as an Appendix) an abridged Translation of Lanzi's History of Painting. 3 vols. 8vo.

In the press, A Treatise on the System of Intercourse and Communication in Civilized States, and particularly in Great Britain. By Thomas Grahame. 1 vol. 8vo.

On the I5th of June will be published, Memoirs of the Rev, W. H. Angas, late of Shields. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, L.L.D.

Shortly will be published, A new and improved Edition of Sermons to Young People, by the late Rev. J. Lawington of Bideford, with a Memoir and Profile of the Author.

Preparing for Publication, The Life of Bishop Jewel, by Professor Le Bas.

ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Archbishop Cranmer. By Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A., Professor in the East India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 2 vols. small 8vo, price 12s. with portraits. (Printed uniformly with the Life of Wichlif.)

A Memoir of Mrs. Smith, of Madras, late Miss Marsden, of Southwark, with Extracts from her Diary and Correspondence, by John Smith, Missionary. With a recommendatory Preface by the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, of Finsbury Chapel. 18mo. The profits of the work to be devoted to the education of Mrs. Smith's son, now in England.

Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, A.M., compiled from Authentic Documents. By the Rev. Edwin Sidney, A.M., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 12s. cloth.

EDUCATION.

An Essay towards an Easy and Useful System of Logic. By Robert Blakey, Author of 'The History of Moral Science,' &c. 12mo, 4s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Concordance to the Psalms of David, according to the Version in the Book of Common ayer. By the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, M.A., Vicar of Sedgley, Staffordshire. 8vo, 4s. 6d.

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Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the subject of Incorporating the London University. 8vo, 2s.

POLITICAL.

The Church and the Clergy. Showing that Religious Establishments derive no countenance from the nature of Christianity, and that they are not recommended by public utility; with some observations on the Church Establishment of England and Ireland, and on the System of Tithes. By the late Jonathan Dymond. 8vo, 6d., or 40s. per 100. In order to spread widely just and true principles on these important subjects, this very able and temperate Essay is republished without any view to profit at the low prices above-mentioned.

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THEOLOGY.

The Pulpit, Vol. XXIII. containing 60 Sermons and Lectures. 8vo, 7s. 6d. cloth.